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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

VOL. I.





ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.

PUBLISHED BY  
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VOL. I.



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WHITE, ROBSON, BAKER and LEIGH, and BROWN.

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# INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING

An Historical Account of the Origin and Establishment  
of the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES.

**T**HE History and Antiquities of Nations and Societies have been objects of inquiry to curious persons in all ages, either to separate falshood from truth, and tradition from evidence, to establish what had probability for its basis, or to explode what rested only on the vanity of the inventors and propagators. The first traces of every history were rude and imperfect: better methods of preserving facts succeeded. The unchizeled stone or rudest hieroglyphic accompanied the songs of the bards, to perpetuate the atchievements of a whole nation, or a few individuals; till the use of letters, and the complicated transactions, claims, and interests of men, taught them to multiply memorials, and to draw them up with more skill and accuracy.

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THE arrangement and proper use of facts is HISTORY;—not a mere narrative taken up at random and embellished with poetic diction, but a regular and elaborate inquiry into every ancient record and proof, that can elucidate or establish them. For want of these, how large a proportion of history, from the Creation of the world to the present age, remains yet to be sifted by the sagacity of modern Criticism! To this neglect is owing, that we have no more certainty about the first ages of Rome than of Mexico; and if the same darkness overspreads the early periods of our own history, it is from the same cause. The only security against this and the accidents of time and barbarism is, to record present transactions, or gather the more ancient ones from the general wreck. The most indistinct collection has this merit, that it supplies materials to those who have sagacity or leisure to extract from the common mass whatever may answer useful purposes. Here begins the province of the ANTIQUARY, who will never be deemed an unserviceable member of the community, whilst curiosity or the love of truth subsists; and least of all, in an age wherein every part of science is advancing to perfection, and in a nation not afraid of penetrating into the remotest periods of their origin, or of deducing from it any thing that may reflect dishonour on them, or affect either their civil or religious rights. Our neighbours, the French, have instituted the like inquiry [a]: but they are indebted to us for the idea of a Society, whose peculiar object was to trace the Antiquities of their country through every branch, to preserve the memory of all who had deserved well of it by their noble actions, prudent counsels,

[a] The Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles lettres, instituted in the middle of the last century to record the progress of Louis XIVth's ambition, when these subjects ceased, extended its plan in 1718 to inquiries after the Antiquities of France and other kingdoms in general; and, agreeably to its name, connected Philology with Antiquity.—There was a college of Antiquaries at Upsal in the middle of the last century.



useful inventions, or extensive knowledge. Perhaps the very name of ANTIQUARY [b] was used first in England, if it be true that Henry the VIIIth conferred it in an especial manner on Leland, who eminently deserved it. Be this as it may, there was a Society of Antiquaries so early as the reign of Elizabeth.

Its foundation may be fixt to the 14th year of her reign (1572) [c] and the honour of it is entirely due to that munificent patron of letters and learned men, Archbishop Parker. The members met near 20 years at the house of Sir Robert Cotton; and in 1589 resolved to apply to the Queen, for a charter of incorporation, and for some public building, where they might assemble and have a library [d]. The laudable views of this institution will best appear from the heads of a petition intended to be exhibited to her Majesty, for incorporating “An Academy for the studye of Antiquity and “History,” under a President, two Librarians, and a number of Fellows, with a body of statutes: the library to be called “The “Library of Queen Elizabeth,” and to be well furnished with scarce books, original charters, muniments, and other MSS. : the Members to take the oath of supremacy, and another to preserve the library : the Archbishop and the great officers of state for the time being

[b] In the sense here given to it. The word Antiquarius appears from Isidore (Orig. vi. 14.) to be synonymous with transcribers of old MSS. “qui tantummodo “vetera scribunt.” The old Glossaries render it ἀρχαιογραφός, and sometimes simply καλλιγράφος: and the Domus Antiquariorum in monasteries seems to have been the apartment appointed to such purposes. Vit. Abb. S. Albani, p. 41. where the author celebrates Radulph de Gubiun, 17th Abbot, and an *Englishman*, t. Steph. for his care of this apartment and library. See more instances of this original sense in Du Cange, Gloss. in voce. Juvenal indeed, sat. vi. l. 453, calls a female pedant, Antiquaria. Whether Leland had the title of Antiquarius by any royal investiture or not, he takes it at the end of his Newe-year’s gift to King Henry.

[c] “About 42 years since, divers gentlemen in London, studious in Antiquities, framed themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries.” Preface to Spelman’s Discourse on Law terms, written 1614.

[d] Life of Mr. Carew, prefixed to his Cornwall, 1723, p. 12.



to visit the Society every five years [*e*]; the place of meeting to be in the Savoy, or the dissolved Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, or elsewhere.

THE reasons urged in support of this petition, as recited in a MS. in the Cotton library [*f*]; were “First, That there are many monuments worthy of observation, whereof the originals are extant in the hands of some private gentlemen; and also divers other excellent MSS. whereof there is no record: which by this means shall have public and safe custody, for use when occasion shall serve. Secondly, The care which her Majesty’s progenitors have had for the preservation of such antient monuments: King Edward I. having searched the libraries of all monasteries for declaration of his title to Scotland, caused to be made and committed divers copies of the records, and much concerning that realm, unto divers Abbies; which for the most part are now perished, or become scarce, and privily retained on the dissolution of religious houses. The like was done in the time of Henry VIII. when the Pope’s authority was abolished: especial care being taken to search for ancient books and antiquities to manifest his usurpation. Several treaties and proclamations were published by authority, for satisfaction of the world in divers public matters, which after some time are dispersed, and become very rare, for want of a public preservation thereof. Thirdly, This Society will not interfere with the Universities, as tending to the preservation of History and Antiquities, whereof the Universities, long buried in the arts, take no regard. Fourthly, The more civilized nations, as Germany, Italy, and France, take great care to encourage this kind of learning, by public lectures, libraries, and academies.” Lastly, It was proposed, that to these objects might be added the study of modern languages, and the history and interests of the neighbour nations, to qualify persons for public characters and offices.

[*e*] This is appointed by the present charter.

[*f*] Tit. B. v. f. 184.



## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THIS petition and these reasons were signed by Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Dodderidge, and Sir James Lee. Whether it was presented, and what was the success, does not appear. The author of Mr. Carew's Life says [g], their hopes were frustrated by the Queen's death. There was indeed a tradition among the revivers of the Society in the present century, that some grant had been obtained, which by its discontinuance was forfeited. Mr. Holmes often mentioned it; and had it been among the records in his custody, he would certainly have brought it to light. These learned persons thus associated were probably countenanced by her Majesty, and continued to meet till her death; and, under the auspices of the Archbishops, their Presidents, flourished and increased exceedingly. We are authorized by a MS. concerning the Duchy of Lancaster, written in 1590, by Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London, and one of the Members of the Society, to affirm, that the Archbishops Parker and Whitgift stood in this relation to it [h]. Being then become more respectable for the number of its Members, their meetings were held at the apartments of Sir William Dethicke, Garter king at arms, in the Heralds office, established in the preceding reign about 17 years before (1555) [i]. Sir Henry Spelman says, the day of meeting was Friday, and that minutes of their proceedings were duly registered. But the papers in the Cotton li-

[g] Page 13.

[h] In the dedication to Sir Thomas Heneage, he gives this reason for dedicating it to him.—“The rather for that I have known you in manner from your infancy and now, to be a mere Antiquarian, the skill whereof at this day is become very great, so that of that science there is a great Society sprung up, the President and Patron of which Society, is the most Hon. and Rev. Pastor John (Whitgift) by the grace of God now Archbishop of Canterbury, successor unto M. Parker, D. D. late his predecessor, who was the first founder of the same Society.” Append. to Masters's Hist. of Benet Coll., N<sup>o</sup> xxix. p. 51. communicated to him by Mr. North.

[i] Smith, vit. Cottoni.

Library.



brary [*k*], which must supply the place of the original register book mentioned by Sir Henry, prove that no certain day was fixed for their meetings. It seems more probable, that, as these papers were the result of deliberations previously proposed, the meetings were regulated by the time each member required to prepare his memoir, and by the law terms [*l*]. More than one person wrote, or (as appears from the summons to Mr. Stowe [*m*]) *spoke*, on each subject; —the only method of investigating truth by various discussions. It appears from each summons, that none but Members were admitted to the meetings; and that the questions proposed were referred to the consideration of such Members as were thought best qualified. The annexed list exhibits such as were Members of the Society for the 30 years it subsisted, taken from the Cotton MS. before mentioned, from another MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, marked 7088:763, and from the MS. collections of Mr. Francis Tate, who was for some time their Secretary, in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq; In the first are the discourses penned by several of them, and probably read, or given in, at their meetings. In the last are common-place notes or excerpts from all the several authors who have treated on the subject, or the records illustrating them [*n*]. It is not to be expected that this list should be perfect; but as far as it goes it may be esteemed authentic. The short memoirs of each, as far as concerns their relation to the Society, may not be unacceptable to the world.

[*k*] FAUST. E. v.

[*l*] Hearne, Pref. to Cur. Disc. p. cxx. Smith, V. Cotton.

[*m*] Printed by Hearne, ubi sup. p. xxxix.

[*n*] These heads are ranged under the years 1591 to 1595 inclusive, 1598 to 1601, and prove their meetings to have been not confined to the same day of the week.

AGARDE,



AGARDE, ARTHUR [o].

ANDREWS, LANCELOT [p].

BEALE, ROBERT [q].

BOWCHIER, HENRY, [r].

BOWYER [s].

[o] A Derbyshire gentleman, bred to the law, Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer 45 years, during which he imbibed his Antiquarian knowledge from Sir R. Cotton, to whom he left 20 of his leiger books and MSS. with a Latin treatise of the abbreviations in Domesday, now in the Cotton library. Vit. IX. Eleven more, with a table of records, treaties, &c. he left to the Exchequer. Five of his dissertations, on shires, measures of land, heralds, inns of court, and names of England, are printed by Hearne, p. 29, 70, 100, 105, 157. The heads of four others are in the Cotton MS. He died August 22, 1615, and was buried in the cloysters at Westminster Abbey, where part of his epitaph remains. Camden (Ann. Jac. I. 1615) calls him *Antiquarius insignis*. Ath. Ox. I. 1520. Antiquities of Westminster Abbey, 1722. His explanation of obsolete words in Domesday is printed in the appendix to Gale's Registrum de Richmond. His opinion concerning Parliaments, with those of other persons, in 1658, 12°.

[p] Elected a member of this Society in 1604; being then Dean of Westminster, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester. "The most eminent divine of our nation in his time." He was employed in the new translation of the Bible, just begun. See his letter to Mr. Hartwell, and Ath. Ox. Fasti, I. 122. He died September 22, 1626.

[q] An eminent civilian, Secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham during his embassy in France, 1671. Diggs, Compl. Embass. p. 31, &c. Ambassador at the Hague, 1676. Clerk of the council, and Secretary to the council of York. He wrote a defence of the validity of the marriage of the Earl of Hertford with the Lady Catharine Grey, in opposition to the sentence of the court of Delegates, and a discourse on the Parisian Massacre, in a letter to Lord Burleigh. He died in London, anno 1601, and was buried at Alhallows on the Wall. Tate's MS. Stow's London, p. 183. Fuller's Ch. Hist. IX. p. 145, &c. Rerum Hispanicarum scriptores, printed at Francfort, 1679, were transcribed from MSS. in his library. Tanner's Bibl. Brit. Hib. p. 82.

[r] Or Burchyer. Mentioned in Tate's MS. and by Dr. Smith, appears to have been one of the Fellows so early as 33 Eliz. and is probably the same learned Knight, many of whose letters are printed among Abp. Usher's.

[s] Hearne's Pref. p. 112. Query, if not Keeper of the Tower Records? or Robert Bowyer, sworn Clerk of the Parliament in 1609, whose journal of their transactions from 1 H. VIII. to 7 E. VI. is in the Cotton library. Tib. D. I. Nich. Eng. Hist. Lib. p. 192.

BROUGHTON,

BROUGHTON, RICHARD [*t*].

CAMDEN, WILLIAM [*u*].

CAREW, RICHARD [*w*].

CLIFFE, [*x*].

COMPTON, Lord WILLIAM [*y*].

COPE, WALTER [*z*].

COTTON, ROBERT [*a*].

DAVIES, JOHN [*b*].

[*t*] In Tate's MS. he is stiled of the Inner Temple, and named in another page Hugh. His opinion of sterling money, signed by himself, is in the Cotton MS. Hearne takes him for the author of the Eccles. Hist. of England, printed at Douay in 1633, fol. Monasticon Brit. 1650, 8°, &c. born and buried at Great Stukely, Huntingdonshire, and stiled in his epitaph, *Antiquariorum sui sæculi exquisitissimus*. He died 18 January 1634, Fasti Ox. I. 233.—One Richard Broughton, Esq; Justice of North Wales, is said, in p. 18. of Sir John Wynne's History of the Gwedir family, written about the end of James I. or Charles I. to be the chief Antiquary of England.

[*u*] Too well known to be further mentioned here, except as author of a paper of Heralds, printed by Hearne, p. 85, and others in the Cotton MS. on the names of Britain, coats of arms, castles, epitaphs, and mottoes.

[*w*] The Cornish Antiquary, whose memoir on the Measures of Land in Cornwall is in the Cotton MS. He died November 6, 1620.

[*x*] Or Clifte. Barely mentioned as a Member in the Cotton MS. and by Hearne, p. 112, as is the next but one.

[*y*] Afterwards Earl of Northampton, Tate's MS. Summoned to Parliament, 35 Eliz; made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York; advanced to the title of Earl of Northampton, 2 August, 16 Jac. and Knight of the Garter. Dyed 24 June, 1630, buried at Compton. See Dugdale's Baronage, II. 403, and Edmondson's Baronagium Genealogicum.

[*z*] A Knight, Stowe's worshipful friend: (Survey of London, 1603, p. 445), His name is written in the margin of the Cotton MS. by another hand.

[*a*] Hearne has printed three of his Discourses, p. 167, 178, 182, on towns, measures of land, and mottoes; not in the Cotton MS. where are two more on castles and towns. He died May 6, 1631. See his Life by Doctor Smith.

[*b*] Sir John, the Poet and Lawyer, Attorney-general of Ireland, died in 1606. Ath. Ox. I. 506. The Cotton MS. has a paper of his, on epitaphs, dated 1600.

DETHICKE,



DETHICK E, Sir WILLIAM [c].

DODDERIDGE, JOHN [d].

DOYLEY [e].

ERDESWICKE, - SAMPSON [f].

FLEETWOOD, WILLIAM [g].

HAKEWILL WILLIAM [h].

[c] Succeeded his father Sir Gilbert as Garter King at Arms, 21 April, 1586; and in October, 1605, surrendered that office in favour of Sir William Segar. The Society of Antiquaries usually met at his apartments in the Heralds Office. He survived the surrender of his office about eight years; and dying 1612, aged 70, was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Life of him, MS. in the hands of Sir Jos. Ayloffe, Bart. Dugdale's History of St. Paul's; Stow's London, p. 371. Camden styles him, "Omnium quæ ad honorem et nobilitatis rationem spectant studi-  
"osissimus," Brit. p. 298.

[d] A native of Devonshire, educated at Exeter Coll. Ox. Serjeant to prince Henry, Solicitor General and King's Serjeant, knighted by James I. 1607, one of the Judges of the King's-bench. Hearne printed his paper "on the Measure of  
"Land, p. 66. and "a consideration of the office and dutie of Herauldes in  
"England, drawn out of sundry observations," p. 269. He wrote likewise a discourse concerning the earldom of Cheshire, the history of the duchy of Cornwall, and of the ancient and modern estate of the principality of Wales, printed in 1630, 4to, and 1714, 8vo. Opinion concerning Parliament, published with those of others by his nephew, John Doderidge, 1658, 8°. He died September 13, 1638.

[e] This Master Doctor Doyley, as he is styled in the Cotton MS. was probably the Physician of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took his degree at Basil in 1592; practised in London, and died 1603. He printed a Spanish Dictionary and Grammar, 1591. Quere, If the same with Archbishop Parker's Steward, Thomas Doyley? Ath. Ox. I. 320. Tate's MS. calls him Doctor of Laws.

[f] Author of the Antiquities of Staffordshire, printed 1717, and 1723, 8°. Prince's Worthies, p. 248. He died April 11, 1603.

[g] Was born at Penworth, in the county of Lancaster, and educated in Brasen-  
Nose Coll. Oxon, from whence he removed to the Middle Temple and became Ser-  
jeant at Law, Recorder of London, an active Magistrate (Seymour's Survey of London,  
II. 235.); died 1604, and was buried at Great Missenden in Buckinghamshire. Ath.  
Ox. I. 219. Fast. 173. Cotton MS. See books of his writing in Ames's History of  
Printing, Nich. Eng. Hist. Lib. p. 83, and Tanner's Biblioth. Britan. p. 286.

[h] Of Lincoln's Inn, Esq; Solicitor to the Queen, brother to Dr. George  
Hakewill, and a near relation and executor to Sir T. Bodley: "out of his grave  
"and long conversation with Antiquity, he extracted several curious observations  
"concerning the liberty of the subject, and the manner of holding Parliaments,"

HARTWELL, ABRAHAM [*i*].

HENEAGE, MICHAEL [*k*].

HOLLAND, JOSEPH [*l*].

LAMBART, WILLIAM [*m*].

LAKE, THOMAS [*n*].

says Wood, Ath. Ox. II. 112. Prince's Worthies. He was *Register* to the Society, and his Discourse on our Laws is printed by Hearne, p. 1.

[*i*] His family and profession appear from the following epigram, among Newton's *Encomia illustrium virorum*.

“ *Ad Abrahamum Hartwellum D. A.ſi, Durovernensis amanuensem.*

“ *Nuper Apolloniæ florebat fama cohortis*

“ *Hartwellus; notum nomen Abramus erat.*

“ *Occidit is, nobis fatis ereptus iniquis:*

“ *Tu ſuffectus ei, vive, Abrahame, diu.*”

His paper on Epitaphs in the Cotton MS. begins, “ Because I am in tyme the “ laſt that was admitted into this Society, and in habilitie the leaſt” — and ranks in 1600.

[*k*] Tate's MS. Keeper of the Tower Records. See Petition to King James. His Remarks on Sterling money are in the Cotton MS.

[*l*] Of the Inner Temple, Tate's MS. A native of Devon, and an excellent Antiquary. His opinion about Parliaments was printed with others in 1658. Several of his MS. collections, relating to his own and the neighbouring counties of Cornwall and Somerſet, are in the Heralds Office. Ath. Ox. I. 521. Five papers by him, on Law Terms, Cities, Heralds, Inns of Court, and the names of Britain, are printed by Hearne, p. 52. 62. 97. 127. 154. Four or five more are in the Cotton MS.

[*m*] Or Lambarde; Tate's MS. Author of the Perambulation of Kent, which had three editions, 1576, 1596, 1640; and a fourth undated. He was ſon of an Alderman and Sheriff of London, eminently verſed in the Armenian language, and admitted of Lincoln's Inn, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in the law. Tanner has enumerated ſeveral tracts of his, on this and other ſubjects. His principal work is the collection of Saxon laws, firſt made by Laurence Noel, Dean of Lichfield; who, going abroad, left them to him to tranſlate and publiſh, which he did under the title of *Αρχαιονομία*, &c. Lond. 1568, 4°; reviſed by Wheeloc, Cant. 1644. His poſthumous Alphabetical Deſcription of England, printed 1730, 4°, has a good head of him by Vertue. His account of a Maundy celebrated at Greenwich, 1572, is printed in p. 7. of this volume. He died 1601, aged 75.

[*n*] Amanuenſis to Sir Francis Walsingham, French and Latin Reader to Queen Elizabeth, Clerk of the Signet, knighted by James I. and made one of his principal Secretaries of State. Ath. Ox. I. 250. Faſti 145. His paper on Sterling money was printed by Hearne, p. 15.

LEY,



# INTRODUCTION.

xi

LEY, JAMES [o].

LEIGH, FRANCIS [p].

OLDESWORTH, MICHAEL [q].

PATTEN, WILLIAM [r].

SAVEL [s].

[o] Attorney General of the Court of Wards, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and England, and Lord Treasurer; afterwards Earl of Marlborough. He was author of some Law Tracts and Reports, printed in 1659, and a Treatise of Wards and Liveries. He intended to publish some of the Annals of Religious houses in Ireland. He was famous for his excellent learning and great integrity, and died March 14, 1628. Ath. Ox. I. 526. Dugd. Baron. I. 451. Hearne printed eight of his papers, on Sterling Money, Shires, Herald's, Arms, Forests, Chancellor's Office, Epitaphs, and Mottoes, p. 24. 46. 81. 186. 193. 198. 201. 204. In the Cotton MS. he is called also *Leye* and *Lea*.

[p] Knight of the Bath, one of Camden's legatees, and assisted at his funeral. Smith's Vita Camdeni, p. 65, 67. A paper of his on Knights made by Abbots, is printed by Hearne, p. 135.

[q] Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Secretary to Philip Earl of Pembroke, and many times Member for Sarum. Fast. Ox. I. 196. Hearne printed a paper of his, on the names of Britain, p. 162, and re-printed a letter of Degory Wheare's to him, Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> III.

[r] The same, undoubtedly, who wrote a Diary of the Duke of Somerset's Expedition into Scotland, where he was present, and styles himself William Patten, of London; printed by R. Grafton, 1548, 12<sup>o</sup>; and a Kalender of Scripture Names, 1575, 4<sup>o</sup>. As the first is dated from the Parsonage of St. Mary Hill, Bishop Tanner (Bibl. Brit. p. 581.) supposes he was Rector there; but he is not in Newcourt. Thynne, in the Catalogue of English Historians in the last edition of Hollinshed, says he was living in 1586. His name is spelt *Paton*, in Hearne's List, Preface, p. x.

[s] Of the Middle Temple, mentioned by Hearne, p. cxii. Quere, if the person commonly called *Long Harry Savile*, Kinsman to Sir Henry Savile; eminent in Heraldry and Antiquities, and an intimate friend of Camden; charged with forging the passages favouring the University of Oxford, in Asse and Ingulfus, having communicated the best MSS. of the former to Camden. He died April 29, 1617. Ath. Ox. I. 419. It does not appear by Wood, that either of these Henry's were of the Temple. Or this might be Thomas Savile, younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, born at Over Bradley in Yorkshire, and Fellow of Merton College, Oxon, and the writer of fifteen letters to Camden, on his Britannia, published in his Epistles, London, 1691, 4<sup>o</sup>. He died 12 January, 1592, and was buried at Merton College, Oxford. See Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 654.



STOWE, JOHN [t].

SPILMAN, [u].

STRANGEMAN, [w].

TALBOT, THOMAS [x].

TATE, FRANCIS [y].

THYNNE, FRANCIS [z].

[t] We have nothing of this indefatigable collector, relative to the present subject, except some short notes in his own hand, about Parishes, in answer to a question proposed at one of the meetings, 1598, printed by Hearne, p. xxxix.

[u] Stands in Tate's MS. only Mr. without a Christian name; but, from the Petition following, appears to have been Sir Henry.

[w] Probably *James*, whose "name ought to be ever in esteem for his judicious collections, greatly useful in the History of Essex." Salmon, Hist. of Essex, p. 146. A MS. of his writing, chiefly relating to Monasteries, is in the Cotton Library. Morant's Essex, I. 280.

[x] A Lancashire gentleman; Clerk of the Tower Records, commonly called *Limping Tom*, assisted Camden in the account of the Earls of each county; and Abington, in the early Bishops of Worcester. The latter calls him, "an excellent Antiquary." A volume of his collections is in the Cotton Library. Vesp. D. xvii.; also, "Escaetorum Inquisitiones de tempore R. Edwardi IV." now in the Heralds Office. He was alive in 1580. Ath. Ox. I. 108. His paper on Shires is printed by Hearne, p. 43. See Preface to Philpot's Catalogue of Lord Chancellors, and Camden's Discourse on Law Courts.

[y] A Northamptonshire gentleman, some time Secretary to the Society, and one of the Welsh Judges, t. J. I. *multijugæ eruditionis et vetustatis peritissimus*, says Selden, Preface to Hengham. A great Lawyer, as well as Antiquary, and of exquisite skill in the Saxon Tongue, Hearne's Preface, p. cxxi. where see the subjects beforementioned, on which he supposes he designed to treat for the use of the Society; and his Explanation of Abbreviations in Domesday Book. His opinion about Parliaments was printed with those of others in 1658. His Discourse on Knights made by Abbots, by Hearne, p. 138. and some Queries and Answers about the Ancient Britons, p. 209. He died November 15, 1616. Ath. Ox. I. 409. Camd. An. J. I. 1616.

[z] Or Boteville; son and heir of William Thynne, Esq; Master of the Household to King Henry the VIIIth; educated at Tunbridge school, under the celebrated Historian, Mr. Procter, mentioned by Hollingshed, in his History, p. 1591; from whence he went to Oxford, and soon after removed to Lincoln's Inn. Camden calls him an excellent Antiquary, Brit. in Pref. p. clxix. and in

WHITELOCK,

WHITELOCK, JAMES [a].

WISEMAN [b].

WESTON, ROBERT [c].

No distinction of Officers can be inferred from the list of Members; unless we suppose that *Charles Lailand*, who summoned them 41 Elizabeth [d], might have been their Secretary, or Register, as

Cambridgeshire and Yorkshire. On the 22d of April, 1602, he was created Lancaster Herald, being then 57 years of age. In 1651, he published certain histories concerning Ambassadors and their functions, dedicated to his good Lord William Lord Cobham, though printed long after his death; and was the continuer of Hollingshed's Chronicle, in which four of his Discourses, on the Earl of Leicester, the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Lords Cobham, and the Catalogue of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports, were suppressed. Hearne's Contents of the Curious Discourse. Several of his Collections are preserved in the Cotton Library, Julius, c. viii. Vitellius, E. v. Cleopatra, c. iii. Faustina, D. viii. He likewise wrote the History of Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports, the Genealogical History of Cobham, Discourses of Arms, concerning the Bath and Batchelor Knights, the History and Lives of the Lord Treasurers, mentioned in a manuscript life of him, now in the collection of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. besides which, he left large Heraldic collections to the Heralds Office, and Ashmol. Mus. 835, 836. He assisted Speght in his edition of Chaucer with his own notes and those of his father, who published the first edition of that poet, after Caxton, in 1542; as himself intended a subsequent one with a comment. See Speght's Preface, and Ath. Ox. I. 375, compared with p. 61, where Wood blunders strangely about William Thynne. He died in 1608, and not 1611 as mentioned by Wood. Some verses by him on Speght's edition are prefixed to it.

[a] Afterwards knighted. One of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and father of Sir Bulstrode; died June 21, 1632. Wood saw a MS. of his "on the Antiquity, Use, and Ceremony, of lawful Combats in England." Ath. Ox. I. 572. Hearne printed two of his Discourses, on Heralds and Inns of Court, p. 90 and 129, and his Epiaph in Fawley Church, Bucks. Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. I.

[b] Of this gentleman we find no particulars, except that his family, very considerable in Essex, had inter-married with that of Strangeman. Query, if he was *Thomas* (Son of John), who died 1585, and whose mother Joan married Strangeman? Morant, II. 559. Salmon, 156.

[c] Of the Middle Temple. Tate's MS.

[d] Hearne, p. XLII.



Mr. Hakewill was in 15 -- [e]; and Mr. Tate about the same time. Tate and Boucher were *Moderators*, when eleven others were present, 33 Elizabeth [f]. When Mr. Carew, the Cornish Antiquary, was admitted in 1589, he made an Oration in praise of the Study of Antiquities, &c. [g]. The Discourses above referred to were preserved by Mr. Camden, and have the autographs of their authors. Most of them have been printed by Mr. Hearne, in "A Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries upon several heads in our English Antiquities," Ox. 1720, 8°, from a MS. of the learned Doctor Thomas Smith, probably a transcript of the more compleat collection in the Cotton Library, which contains other heads and loose minutes, with the authors names. They are inquiries about the Introduction of Christianity into Britain, the Antiquity and Origin of the Laws of England, Law Terms and Inns of Court, Single Combat, Cities and Castles, Measures of Land, Names of the Island, Division of Shires and Parishes, Heralds, Coats of Arms and Mottoes, Knights made by Abbots, Military Fees, Funeral Ceremonies, Epitaphs and Monuments, Titles of Honour, Offices of Constable, Marshal, and Steward, Forests, and Sterling Money. To which may be added from Mr. Tate's MS. Seals, Tenures, Serjeants, Orders, Counties Palatine, Courts, Manors, and Sanctuaries.

The Society subsisted till James I, alarmed for the arcana of his Government, and, as some think [h], for the established Church, thought fit to dissolve it. Sir Henry Spelman [i] asserts, that it had been discontinued twenty years, from 1594 to 1614: but Camden's offer in 1600 [k], to refer his controversy

[e] Spelman, Loc. cit.

[f] Cotton, MS.

[g] See his life, prefixed to the second edition of his Cornwall, p. 12.

[h] Hearne, p. xxxvi.

[i] Loc. cit.

[k] The first mention of this Society in print.



with Brook to the *Collegium Antiquariorum, qui statis temporibus conveniunt, et de rebus Antiquariis conferunt*, proves it to have been then actually subsisting; and many of the original papers are dated after this year. The latest date being 1604, makes it probable that James put an end to it as soon as he could. It is plain from a letter of Dean Andrews [1], on his admission, that they admitted Members to the end of 1604.

WHATEVER were the King's motives for dissolving this Society, upon application to him for a Charter, it ceased to subsist publicly, for fear of being prosecuted as a treasonable cabal [m]. About 1617, some proposal was made to the Marquis of Buckingham for its revival. An anonymous MS. formerly in Mr. Oldys's, now in Mr. West's possession, intitled, "A Motion for erecting an Academy Royal, or Colledge of King James, written in 1617," mentions the Society of Antiquaries as *absolutely vanished*; and

[1] "To the right worshipful my very good friend, Mr. Hartwell, at his  
"House at Lambeth.

"SIR,

"I have received the inclosed (as it was sayd) by direction from you: but the  
"partie I know not: it was not your hand: it had no mention of my name;  
"and I talkt with Mr. Clarentieux, and he would not certify me that I was  
"made of your number, and yet he was at your last meeting, wher such things  
"(as he sayd) used to be agreed on before any came in, wherby I thought it  
"likely the partie might be mistaken that brought your note. But if I may have  
"notice from yourself or Mr. Clarentieux, that you have vouchsafed me the favor,  
"then you shall perceive well that I will not fail in obedience, though unless it  
"be that I dare not promise, because I cannot perform ought ells, for I learn every  
"day more and more gladly. But that this afternoon is our Translation \* time,  
"and most of our company are negligent, I would have seen you; but no  
"Translation shall hinder me, if once I may understand I shall committ no error  
"in coming. And so, commending me to you in myn ambition, and every way  
"besyde, I take my leave, this last of November, 1604, your verie assured poor  
"friend,

"L. ANDREWES."

[m] Life of Carew. Spelman, ubi supra.

\* The new Translation of the Bible, in which he was concerned, begun that year by the King's command.

desires



desires the Marquis, to whom it is addressed, to present to the King the petition thereto annexed, and to promote the design with his recommendation and powerful interest. In the body of the Petition, § 5. is the following account, offered as a reason for erecting and establishing the new projected Royal College. “There was  
 “also a time, most excellent King, when, as well under Queen  
 “Elizabeth, as under your Majestie, certain choice Gentlemen,  
 “Fathers of Families, or otherwise free Maisters, Men of prooffe,  
 “were knit together, *statis temporibus*, by the love of only one  
 “part of these Studies,” upon contribution among themselves, which company consisted of an Elective President, of Clarissimi, of other Antiquaries, and a Secretary [*n*]. “But this their Meeting,  
 “whose profession reached only to the matter of our Antiquities,  
 “without pretending to other the higher points, deserved to have  
 “had an incorporative connexion, by way of Authoritie Royal.  
 “But as it had not, so being consequently deprived of the benefit  
 “of suffection and substitution, a few of the friends and persons  
 “dying, whose names nevertheless do live with honour; the late  
 “Earls of Shrewsbury [*o*] and Northampton [*p*], Sir Gilbert  
 “Dethick [*q*] Knight, Lambert, Esq; Valence, Esq; Erdeswick,  
 “Esq; Heneage, Esq; Keeper of the Tower Records, Francis

[*n*] The words where the inverted commas are omitted are taken from another copy of the same MS.

[*o*] Probably Edward Talbot, third son of George; who, on the death of his brother Gilbert, on the eighth of May, 1616, succeeded to the titles of Earl of Shrewsbury, &c. He, being a younger son, might probably have studied the Law at one of the Temples, and been more likely to have associated himself with the then Antiquary Students. See Dugdale’s Bar. I. 334, and Edmundson’s Baronagium Genealogicum, vol. II. p. 84.

[*p*] *Nobilium doctissimus et doctorum nobilissimus*, second son of Henry Earl of Surry, died in 1614, buried in the Church at Dover Castle. Camd. Brit. p. 221. Dugdale’s Baronage, vol. II. p. 275.

[*q*] An Officer of arms when a young man, being appointed Hammes Pursuivant, 28 H. VIII. and gradually rose, through the offices of Rouge Croix and Richmond Herald, till he was appointed Garter by Pat. 29 April, 1 E. VI. He was esteemed a learned Antiquary. We do not find that he wrote any books ex-

“Thynne,



“ Thynne, Esq; Lancaster Herald, Sir Henry Fanshaw [*r*], and  
 “ ——— Benefield, Esq; Mr. Talbot, Mr. T. Holland, and Mr.  
 “ Stowe, &c. the thing itself is absolutely vanished: succession per-  
 “ forming that in civil bodies, which generation does in natural.  
 “ This has not happened without the just grief of all those worthie  
 “ patriots, who know your realms afford living persons fit to keep  
 “ up and celebrate that Round Table; some of whose names I have  
 “ seen quoted, and heard often-times cited as authoritative. The  
 “ Lord William Howard [*s*], the Lord Carew [*t*], profound Judge  
 “ Doderich [Doderidge], Sir Thomas Brudenel [*u*], Sir William

cept a Treatise on the Jufts of some Spaniards, which he published on the 25th of November, 1564. He died on the third of October, 1584, aged 84 years; not 48 years, as by mistake is mentioned in the inscription on his son William's monument, whereon the figures are transposed. He lies buried in the church of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, London. Lives of the Heralds, a Manuscript in the possession of Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart.

[*r*] Quere, of Ware Park, Hertfordshire, Knight, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, died in the reign of James I. Chauncey's Hertf. 208. His tenth son, Richard, translated Camoen's Lusiad. Fast. Ox. II.

[*s*] Third son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded by Queen Elizabeth, ancestor to the Earl of Carlisle, and the associate of Sir R. Cotton and Camden, in their Antiquarian pursuits. He died in 1640. His second daughter married Sir Thomas Cotton, eldest son and heir of Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. II. p. 281.

[*t*] George Lord Carew, of Clopton, who, being “ more delighted in martial  
 “ affairs than in the solitary delights of a study, left Oxford for Ireland,” and was created by King Charles I. Earl of Totness. A lover of Antiquities, and a great patron of learning. The history of the wars in Ireland, especially in the province of Munster whereof he was President, was wrote by himself, and published by Sir Thomas Stafford, under the title of Pacata Hibernia, 1633, fol. His head by Voerst is prefixed to it. Four volumes of his collections relating to Ireland are in the Bodleian Library, and others in the Library of the Earl of Ferrers at Stanton Harold in Leicestershie. He died in 1629.

[*u*] Probably the first Earl of Cardigan, so created 13 C. I. having been created a Baronet by J. I. 1611, and knighted 1612. A person generally learned, who made large extracts from the Tower Records, during his confinement in the civil wars; now in the Library at Deene, Northamptonshire. He died 1st April, 1664. Dugd. Bar. II. 455.



“ Sedley[*w*], Baronets ; Sir James Leigh [Ley], Knight, Attorney  
 “ for your Wards, Sir John Davies, Knight, your Majesty’s At-  
 “ torney for Ireland, whose reports of Law-cases have a great fame,  
 “ incomparable Camden, and the other two Kings of Arms, Sir  
 “ William Segar [*x*] and Sir Richard St. George [*y*], Knights ;  
 “ Sir Henry James, Knight, Sir Foulke Grevile, Knight, [*z*] Chan-  
 “ cellor of your Majesty’s Exchequer, Sir George Buc [*a*], Master  
 “ of the Revels, Sir Henry Spilman, Mr. John Hayward [*b*],

[*w*] Quere, eldest son of Lady Elizabeth Sedley, to whom the second edition of Weldon’s Court of James I. 1651, is dedicated. Ath. Ox. I. 729; and founder of the Natural Philosophy Lecture at Oxford. Fast. I. 189.

[*x*] Sir William Segar was appointed Garter in January 1606; ten years after which, he was imprisoned by James I. for having, by the treacherous contrivance of his and Mr. Camden’s great, though unprovoked, enemy, Ralph Brook, York Herald, hastily set his hand to a grant of the arms of Arragon, with a canton of Brabant, to Gregory Brandon, who afterwards appeared to be the common hangman. The said Brook, York Herald, was also imprisoned for his *knavery* and *treachery*; but Sir William was, upon the fourth of January following, honourably discharged, upon the Officers of Arms exhibiting to the King a testimonial of his honesty, integrity, and good carriage. He published Honor Civil and Military, 1602; and from his MSS. have lately been published five splendid vols. in folio, continued to the present time by Joseph Edmondson, Esq; Mowbray Herald extraordinary, containing the Genealogies of the English Peers engraven on copper plates, under the title of Baronagium Genealogicum. Sir William died in December 1633, and was buried at Richmond in Surry. MS. Lives of the Heralds, ut supra.

[*y*] Sir Richard St. George, second son of Francis St. George, in the county of Cambridge; who, having served the offices of Berwick Pursuivant, Windsor, and Norroy, was appointed Clarencieux. He was father of Sir Thomas and Sir Henry St. George, both Garters; and of Richard, Ulster King at Arms, and deemed an able and inquisitive officer. He died on the 17th of May, 1635, and was buried in the chancel of St. Andrew’s church, Holborn. MS. Lives of the Heralds, ut supra.

[*z*] “ Servant to Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney.” Epitaph. He died 1620. Dugd. Baronage, II. 445, and Warwickshire.

[*a*] Stiled by Camden (Brit. p. 212) “ a man well learned and well descended;” author of the Life of Richard III. and the Third University of England.

[*b*] “ A faire and learned historian,” MS.—Historiographer at Chelsea College; knighted 1619, author of the Lives of the three Norman Kings, of Henry IV,  
 Doctor

“ Doctor of Laws, Henry Ferrars, of Badfley, Esq; [c] Mr. Tate,  
 “ Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Broke [d], York Herald, Mr. Selden, Mr.  
 “ Bolton [e], Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Privy Counsellor [f],  
 “ Brerewood, of Gresham College [g], Sir Roger Owen, judge,  
 “ Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls, and many others.”

To the deceased Members the MS. adds Sir Philip Sidney, Fitz-Alan [h], last Earl of Arundel of that name, friend and cherisher of Humphry Lluyd; Thomas Earl of Dorset [i], William Lord

and Edward VI. Elizabeth’s lawyers labouring to find treason in that of Henry VI. he suffered a long imprisonment.

[c] Of Badfley-Clinton, “ for his eminent knowledge in Antiquities, gave a fair lustre to his ancient and noble family, whereof he was no small ornament; “ and his memory is yet of high esteem in these parts.” Dugd. Warw. 711. He died in 1611. His collections were of great use to Dugdale, and are among his papers in Ashmole’s Museum, and a volume of Pedigrees in the Heralds Office. Ath. Ox. I. 589.

[d] Author of the Errors in Camden’s Britannia, a List of the Nobility, &c. He died October 15, 1625; and was buried at Reculver, in Kent. MS. Lives of the Heralds, ut supra.

[e] Probably Edmund, author of Nero Cæsar, History of Henry II. in Speed, and other pieces.

[f] One of the most eminent lawyers this kingdom has produced, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench 1615, disgraced 1616, and died 1634.

[g] First professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, where he died November 4, 1613. He wrote, *De ponderibus veterum nummorum*, printed 1614, 4to. *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages and religion*, 1614, 4to. and other critical tracts

[h] Henry, Knight of the Garter, Privy Counsellor to Henry VIII. and his three successors, Governour of Calais, Lord Chamberlain, Earl Marshal, Lord High Steward at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth; died 25 February 1579, buried at Arundel. Dugdale’s Baronage, I. 325.

[i] “ Excellently bred in all learning;” author of some Tragedies, and of Sackville’s Induction (which is only part of what he intended for the Mirror of Magistrates); Lord Treasurer 15 May, 1599; Chancellor of Oxford, 1604. He shewed great concern for preserving our public Records, and died suddenly at Council, April 19, 1608. Edmondson’s *Baronagium Genealogicum*, vol. I. p. 71.



Burghley [*k*], the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke [*l*], the learned Lord Lumley [*m*], Sir Henry Billingsley [*n*], Sir William [*o*] son of Sir Gilbert Dethick, Bartholomew Clark [*p*] and — Cofens [*q*], Doctors of Law, and Deans of the Arches, Sir Daniel Donn, Master of the Requests; Sir Walter Cope and Raleigh, Mr. Benedict Barnham [*r*], Alderman of London; Doctor Cowel [*s*], Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Mr. Glover, [*t*] Somerset: and to

[*k*] Lord Treasurer, patron of Camden, and a skilful Genealogist. Life of him, published by Collins, p. 27. He died 1598.

[*l*] Henry, who married Sir Philip Sidney's sister, and died January 19, 1601; and his son William, Chancellor of Oxford, 1616, who died April 10, 1630. Dugdale's Baronage, II. 260. The MS. calls him chief countenancer and patron of Sir J. Prife's works.

[*m*] John, who married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Arundel above-mentioned, and died 1609. He collected all the monuments of his ancestors, and placed them in the church of Chester le Street, near Lumley Castle. Camd. Brit. II. 950. The MSS. of these two Peers, and of Henry Lluyd, who married Lord Lumley's sister, were added by James I. to the Royal Library.

[*n*] Lord Mayor of London in 1596, a great Mathematician. He published a translation of Euclid, in fol. 1570, and died in 1606. Ath. Ox. I. 331.

[*o*] Succeeded his father as Garter, died 1612, aged 70; and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Stowe's London, p. 371.

[*p*] Of King's College, Cambridge, 1554; Dean of the Arches, patronized by Thomas Earl of Dorset, and author of an Answer to Saunders the Jesuit, printed in 1573, 4to. and a defence of the power of the Court of Arches, among Bishop Tanner's MSS. He likewise translated Castiglioni's Courtier into Latin. He was living in 1593. Fasti Ox. I. 109. Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 185.

[*q*] An eminent Civilian, Dean of the Arches, and author of several books, of which see Tanner, ib. p. 201.

[*r*] Educated at St. Alban's Hall, Oxford. Ath. Ox. I. 331. Father of Eliz. wife of the infamous Mervin Earl of Castlehaven, and of Alice Viscountess St. Alban's, afterwards married to Sir John Underhill.

[*s*] Author of the "Interpreter of Law Words," 1607, fol. to which his life is prefixed, and which has gone through several editions with considerable improvements. He died October 11, 1611. Prince's Worthies, p. 194.

[*t*] Somerset, esteemed a most skilful Herald and Antiquary; Camden, in his Apology, calls him "virum maximum et nunquam satis laudatum Heraldum." See also Dr. Smith's Life of Camden. Mills, p. 28. Camd. Brit. English edition, p. 13. 147. and 634. He was looked upon as the great oracle in Genealogical Antiquities.

those living at the time, Sir Peter Manwood, Knight of the Bath [u], and Sir Henry Savile, Knight, Provost of Eton. They proposed to meet at Westminster and Windsor, to have one general Chapter in a Year, and four quarterly Dinners.

MR. Oldys [w] ascribes this MS. to one Basset, from the following expression in the prefatory address to the Marquis: "But I can otherwise prove your Lordship's special title to my love and service, both out of the monuments of that familie (sprung from the noble Bassets) whereof I am a member, to which your house's interest extends itself." But at the end of the tract is this note, or entry, which seems irreconcilable with this opinion: "Mr. F. 15 March, 1617. The subject is more laudable than likely to be successful from you. Your addresses are too long, I fear, to be perused by him;" which must be meant to the author from some person who had the perusal of it, and has largely obliterated, interlined, and added to it throughout. May we be allowed to suppose the author Mr. F. was Henry Ferrars, the learned Antiquary, mentioned with honour and gratitude by Camden in his account of Coventry? His residence was at Badlesley Clinton, Warwickshire, not far from Goadby, in Leicestershire, where the Marquis was educated. He wrote two tracts, one *De Nobilitate Politica et Civili*, and the other intitled, *A catalogue of Honour*; both of which were after his death published by his nephew, Mr. Milles; the former in 1608, and the other in 1610. He likewise lived to finish his *Alphabet of Arms*, and several other curious pieces, which still remain in manuscript. He died 10 April, 1588.

[u] Son of Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, eminently learned, and a patron of literary men; mentioned with great respect by Camden, in Kent, where his seat was, at Hackington. Brit. p. 239. Ed. 1607.

[w] In a note wrote by Mr. Oldys in the aforementioned copy of this MS. formerly in the hands of Mr. Vertue, he had first ascribed it to Sir George Buck; but afterwards, without determining the author, he supposes it a transcript of Mr. West's, made 1619, between St. George's day, (then April 23, Camden's Annals, Jac. I.) and the time of Dr. Hayward's being knighted. Which, according to Wood, was some time the same year. This copy, now in the Archives of the Society, is addressed to the King himself.

cated.



cated. This supposition will be strengthened by the first sentence of his address to him: "High and most honourable Marquis; It  
 " was the happiness of my growing years to behold in your Lord-  
 " ship's person (then very young), at Goadby, that seed, which is  
 " since shot up, as the whole world sees, into a most eminent,  
 " brave, and spacious tree, &c. " The date of the Petition is plainly ascertained to be between New-year's Day 1617, when G. Villars was created Marquis of Buckingham, and the 25th of March following, when the year 1618 commenced, or the 15th of that month, when the above entry was made.

FROM this time to the beginning of the present century, the Society of Antiquaries remained as it were in abeyance. The only mention of it occurs in Mr. Ashmole's Diary, where we have a memorandum that "July 2, 1659, was the Antiquaries feast." But the defect was amply compensated, by the many eminent men who pursued these studies with unremitted ardour and unparalleled success, through all the impediments and horrors of civil war, which seemed to threaten a return of worse than monkish ignorance, by the sweeping havock made of our Monuments, and the gross confusion into which our Records were in those times thrown. Among the Worthies whom the study of our national Antiquities places in the most distinguished light, were Roger Dodsworth, Sir William Dugdale, William Somner, Sir Henry Spelman, John Selden, Archbishop Usher, Elias Ashmole, Anthony Wood, and Abraham Wheeloc. To the labours of these men, in whom extensive knowledge was united with indefatigable application, we owe the preservation of that treasure of Records contained in our Monastic repositories, the maintenance of the rights of our national church, the history of one of our famous Universities, the enlargement of our topographical acquaintance with our own country, the memorials of our nobility, and of the earliest order of honour among us, and the revival of that language most interesting to us as Englishmen.

To

To these illustrious names, let us add others to whom we have great obligations in the same way. John Aubrey, who first brought us acquainted with the earliest monuments on the face of the country, the remains of Druidism, and of Roman, Saxon, and Danish fortifications; John Weever, the first collector of monumental Inscriptions, illustrated with many remarkable facts, and preserving the memorials of many persons who would otherwise have been lost in oblivion; Dr. Meric Casaubon, Thomas Marshall, Richard James, William Lisle, Franciscus Junius, and Sir John Spelman (son of Sir Henry), who made so many discoveries in the Saxon and other Northern languages; and Dr. Hickes, the great restorer of that kind of literature among us; Bishop Fell, and Sir Henry Saville, who, following the example of Sir Roger Twyfsden in the preceeding age, promoted the publication of so many of our early historians; Dr. William Watts, who gave the world a correct edition of the best of them, Matthew Paris; Henry Wharton, so experienced in our ecclesiastical Historians; Thomas James, that “living library,” and first keeper of Sir Thomas Bodley’s, who took an account of that and of all other libraries at Oxford; Sir Symonds D’Ewes, who made large collections of state papers and records, now in the Harleian library; Augustine Vincent and Randal Holmes, those laborious collectors in the heraldic department, the former of whom had planned a Baronage; Thomas Fuller, who first devised a History of our Worthies in Church and State; Thomas Earl of Arundel, to whom this nation is indebted for the first collection of Ancient Marbles, and Dr. Prideaux, who published them to the world with a critical illustration; Dr. Plot, who first attended to the Natural History of Counties among us. Bishop Stillingfleet, who has so ably elucidated the history of our early Church; Bishop Kennet, Bishop Nicolson, and Bishop Tanner [\*], who have conferred so great obligations on the Anti-

[\*] This excellent Antiquary, the only one of the persons here enumerated that was a Member of the Society of Antiquaries, was born 1674, chosen  
 4. quarian.



quarian republic; Dr. Thomas Smith, whose immense collections were of so much use to Mr. Hearne in his many publications; Brian Twyne, the first Oxford Antiquarian; and William Fulman, no less laborious in the same pursuit; Mr. Thomas Baker, whom death only prevented from digesting his immense invaluable collections for the sister University; Edward Lluyd, Dr. John Davis, Dr. Powell, Robert Vaughan, and Sir Edward Stradling, to whom their native Wales [y] has great obligation; as has Scotland to Sir Robert Sibbald [z] and Sir George Mackenzie.

Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, 1697; Chancellor of Norwich, 1701; Prebendary of Ely, 1713; Archdeacon of Norwich, 1722; Canon of Christ Church, 1723; Bishop of Saint Asaph, 1731; died 1735; having published before he was twenty-two years old, *Notitia Monastica*, 1695, 8vo. republished in folio, 1751, with great additions, (which he began to collect in 1715,) by his brother Dr. John Tanner, Precentor of St. Asaph, and Rector of Hadley, Suffolk. His *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, which employed him forty years, was published by Dr. D. Wilkins, 1748, folio. He left large collections for the County of Wilts, and large notes on Richard Hegge's Legend of St. Cuthbert, 1663. His immense and valuable collections are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. His portrait was engraved at the expence of the Society.

[y] The History of the Gwedir family p. 93. mentions "*Robin Fachwr*, as "the greatest Antiquary of the Principality." Contemporary with those above-mentioned, probably lived John Williams the Antiquarian Goldsmith, who furnished Drayton with so many particulars relative to Welsh history. Note on the above book, p. 159.

[z] The works of this learned Antiquary, who justly boasts that he first broke the ice in writing the Antiquities of his country, are now grown scarce, and are, *Introductio ad historiam rerum a Romanis gestarum*, in *Britannia Boreali*, Edinb. 1706, f. *Historical Enquiries concerning Roman Monuments, &c. in Scotland*, Ed. 1707, f. *Miscellanea eruditæ Antiquitatis quæ ad Borealem Britannia partem spectant*, with an Appendix about the friths Bodotria and Tay, Ed. 1710, f. *Commentarius in Agricolaë expeditiones*, Ed. 1711, f. *Portus, Coloniae, et Castella Romana ad Bodotriam et Taum*, Ed. 1711, f. The *Introductio*, *Miscellanea* and *Commentarius*, with their appendages, and the *Vindiciæ*, are printed, Ed. 1711, f. under the common title of *Tractatus varii*. *Auctarium Musæi Balfouriani*, Ed. 1697, 8°. *Scotia illustrata, sive Prodrômus Historiæ Naturalis*, Ed. 1684, f. *Nunciûs Scoto-Britannus*, 1683, f. *Vindiciæ Scotiæ illustratæ*, 1710, f. *Phalainologia nova*, 1692, 4°. besides several pieces on Natural History in the *Philosophical Trans-*

SOME

SOME of these great men had scarce retired from the world, when the Antiquarian Society began to revive under the auspices of their worthy imitators; some of them their cotemporaries. A number of gentlemen eminent for their affection to, and advances in, this science, had weekly meetings, at the Bear Tavern in the Strand, so early as the year 1707. Mr. Talman, Mr. Bagford, and Mr. Wanley, met there Nov. 5. that year, and agreed to do so every Friday, at six in the evening, and sit till ten at farthest. The subject of their conversation was to be, the History and Antiquities of Great Britain, preceding the reign of James I. but without excluding any other remarkable Antiquities that might be offered to them. To these were soon joined, Mr. Peter Le Neve, Norroy, Mr. Holmes, keeper of the Tower Records, Mr. Maddox, the learned Exchequer Antiquary [z], Mr. Batteley [a] the Kentish Antiquary, Mr. Elstob [b] the Saxonist, Mr. Stebbing, Somers-

actions History of the Sherifffdoms of Fife and Kinross, 1710, f. and of those of Linlithgow and Stirling, 1710, f. A Description of the Isles of Shetland. But of these, with his additions to Camden, and his MSS. collections, see Anecdotes of British Topography in Scotland, particularly p. 620, 621. 625. 655.

[z] Historiographer Royal, who published *Formulare Anglicanum*, 1702, f. *Firma Burgi*, 1726, f. *Baronia Anglicana*, 1741, f. and the History of the Exchequer, 1711, f. reprinted 1769, 2 vol. 4°. and left 40 Volumes of Collections for a History of the Feudal Law, now in the Harleian Library, to which they were presented by his widow.

[a] Probably Dr. John Batteley, native of St. Edmunds Bury, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, Rector of Adisham, near Canterbury, Archdeacon of Canterbury; died October 10, 1718, aged 61. His *Antiquitates Rutupinæ* were published 1711, 8°. and again with his *Antiquitates S. Edmundi Burgi*, by his Nephew, Oliver, Ox. 1745, 4°.

[b] Mr. Elstob, son of Ralph Elstob, Merchant at Newcastle, was born in 1673, educated at Eton, admitted at Catherine Hall, Cambridge; but the air of that county not agreeing with him, he removed to Queen's College, Oxford, and was afterwards chosen Fellow of University College, where he was joint Tutor with Dr. Clavering, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. He was Rector of the united parishes of St. Swithin, and St. Mary Bothaw, London, 1702, where he



Herald [c], Mr. Hare, Richmond Herald, Mr. Sanderfon, Clerk of died, 1714. He translated into Latin the Saxon Homily of *Lupus*, dated 1701, with notes for Dr. Hickes; and into English Sir J. Cheke's Latin translation of *Plutarch De superstitione*, printed at the end of *Strype's* life of Cheke, out of the MS. of which Ob. Walker, when Master of University College, had cut several leaves containing Cheke's remarks against popery. He was author of an Essay on the great affinity and mutual agreement of the two professions of Law and Divinity, London, ----, 8°, with a preface by Dr. Hickes, and of two sermons on public occasions, 1704. He published *Ascham's Latin Letters*, Oxford, 1703, 8°; compiled an Essay on the Latin Tongue, its history and use, in which he was a very great proficient; collected for a History of Newcastle; also the various proper names formerly used in the North; but what is become of these MSS. is not known. His most considerable design was an edition of the Saxon Laws, with great additions, and a new Latin Version by Somner, notes of various learned men, and a prefatory history of the origin and progress of the English Laws to the Conqueror, and to Magna Charta. He intended also a translation with notes, of Alfred's paraphrastic version of *Orosius*, of which his transcript with collations is in Mr. Pegge's hands, and another by Mr. George Ballard, with the latter's large preface on the use of Anglo-Saxon literature, was left by the late Bishop of Carlisle to the Antiquarian Society's library. A specimen of Mr. Elstob's design was actually printed at Oxford, MDCIO. His learned sister Elizabeth was born in 1683: Her mother, to whom she owed the first rudiments of her extraordinary education, dying when she was but eight years old, her guardians discouraged her progress in literature, as improper for a person of her sex; and after her brother's death she met with so little patronage, and so many disappointments, that she retired to Evesham; where, having with difficulty subsisted some time by a small school, she was at last countenanced by Mr. George Ballard, and the wife of the Reverend Mr. Capon, who kept a boarding school at Stanton, in Gloucestershire: and raised for her, among her friends, an annuity of 21*l.* which the late Queen Caroline was pleased to continue to her own death: after which this lady, mistress of eight languages besides her own, was taken into the family of the duchess dowager of Portland, as governess to her children, 1739, in which she died, May 30. 1756, and was buried at St. Margaret's Westminster, having published a translation of *Madame Scudery's Essay on Glory*; and a Saxon Grammar, in 1715, 4°. The Homily on St. Gregory's day, published by her brother, in the Saxon language, 1709, 8°, has her English translation besides his Latin one. She assisted him in an edition of *Gregory's Pastoral*, intended probably to have included both the original and the Saxon version, and had transcribed all the Hymns from an antient MS. in Salisbury Cathedral. She had undertaken, by the encouragement of Dr. Hickes, a Saxon Homiliarium, with an English translation, notes, and various readings; and the

the Rolls, Mr. A. D. Bouchier [*d*], and others, who removed next year to the Young Devil Tavern, in Fleet-street, where they held their meetings untill February 1707-8. Mr. Le Neve was president, and they debated on the several subjects that came before them with a free communication of their respective lights,

five or more of the Homilies were actually printed off at Oxford in folio. Memoirs of Mr. Elstob and his sister, communicated to the Society by the Reverend Mr. Pegge, 1768. Two of her letters to the Earl of Oxford, dated 1713 and 1713-14, and one of her brother's, are among the Harleian MSS. No. 7254. The Saxon types, which were used in printing St. Gregory's Homily, having been burnt in the fire which consumed Mr. Bowyer's house and all his printing materials, Lord Chief Justice Parker was so munificently indulgent as to be at the expence of cutting a new Saxon type for Mrs. Elstob's Saxon Grammar, the punches and matrices of which Mr. Bowyer's son presented, by the hands of Edward Rowe Mores, Esq; to the University of Oxford, with the following letter:

“ To Edward Rowe Mores, Esq; at Low-Layton. ”

“ Sir,

“ I make bold to transmit to Oxford, through your hands, the Saxon punches and  
“ matrices, which you was pleased to intimate would not be unacceptable to  
“ that learned body. It would be a great satisfaction to me, if I could by this  
“ means perpetuate the munificence of the noble Donor, to whom I am originally  
“ indebted for them, the late Lord Chief Justice Parker, afterwards Earl of Mac-  
“ clesfield, who, among the numerous benefactors which my father met with, after  
“ his house was burnt in 1712-13, was so good as to procure those types to be  
“ cut, to enable him to print Mrs. Elstob's Saxon Grammar. England had not  
“ then the advantage of such an artist in letter-cutting as has since arisen: and it  
“ is to be lamented that the execution of these is not equal to the intention of the  
“ Donor; I now add, of the place in which they are to be repositied. However,  
“ I esteem it a peculiar happiness, that, as my father received them from a great  
“ patron of learning, his son consigns them to the greatest seminary of it, and  
“ is,

“ Sir,

Dec. 4, 1753.

“ Your most obliged friend,

“ and humble servant,

“ W. BOWYER.”

[*x*] Samuel Stebbing published, in 1707, a new edition of Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, continued to that time, with other improvements.

[*d*] Quære, if not Dr. Richard Bowchier, Archdeacon of Lewes, from 1693 to 1702, who assisted Le Neve in his Fasti of that church.



worthy the pursuits they were engaged in. They met afterwards at the Fountain Tavern, in Fleet-street, over against Chancery Lane; at which time, Brown Willis, Esq; Mr. Edward Alexander, Dr. Brook, Mr. John Chicheley, Roger and Samuel Gale, Esquires, Mr. Mickleton, Mr. Pavey, Mr. Warkhouse, Mr. Maurice Johnson, with his brother, Dr. Stukeley, Mr. Rymer[e], Mr. Anstis[f], Mr. Lawton, and others, associated themselves with them. In a Harleian MS. N°. 7055. whence some of the above particulars are taken, we have the following sketch of what such a body might propose to do for the illustration of our National Antiquities.

[e] Who published the *Fœdera* in 18 volumes folio; continued after his death by Mr. Sanderfon.

[f] Native of St. Neots in Cornwall, born September 28, 1669, admitted at Exeter College, Oxford, 1685, and three years after at the Middle Temple; represented the borough of St. Germans, 1702, 1703, 1704, in parliament, where he distinguished himself against the bill for occasional conformity, for which he got ranked in the list of the *Tackers*, printed about that time. He was appointed Deputy general to the Auditors of the Imprest, 1703, which office he never executed; one of the principal Commissioners of Prizes, 2 Ann. Garter King at Arms 13 Ann. in which place he died 1734, and was succeeded by his son, of both his names, who died 1754. Mr. Anstis the father published, in 1724, "The Black Book of the Order of the Garter, with a Specimen of the Lives of the Knights," folio; and in 1725, "Observations introductory to an historical Essay on the Knighthood of the Bath," 4°. intended as an Introduction to the History of that Order, for which this Society had begun to collect materials. His *Aspilogia*, a discourse on Seals in England, with beautiful draughts, almost fit for publication; of which Mr. Drake read an abstract to the Society, in 1735-6, and two folio volumes of Drawings of Sepulchral Monuments, Stone Circles, Crosses, and Castles in the three kingdoms, were purchased, with many other curious papers, at the sale of Mr. Anstis's Library of MSS. by Thomas Astle, Esq; F. A. S. to whom we are obliged for the former half of this note, from some Latin memoranda of Mr. Anstis's life in his own hand. Besides these, he left in MS. two large folio volumes on the Office, &c. of Garter King at Arms, and of Heralds in general; memoirs of the Talbot, Carew, Granville, and Courtney families; the Antiquities of Cornwall and of Culliton: and large collections relative to All-Souls College, Oxford, by whom they were bought.

The

The COUNTRY.

A Compleat History of Great Britain and Ireland, with their most celebrated Antiquities; also Maps and Charts, and a Chorographical Description of the Counties.

Volumes of several Old English Historians, not yet printed.

An Historical Account of the Coin, and of the several Mints, with Draughts.

A Compleat Treatise of the Price of Provisions, in Chronological Order, through the Counties.

To print Domesday, and the Red Book of the Exchequer.

An Historical Account of Castles, especially the most ancient and famous, with their Privileges, Officers, &c.

Ditto of Cities, Boroughs, and Companies; Counties Palatine, Honours, and Manors.

The KING.

A Treatise of the Laws, Rights, and Prerogatives of the Crown.

An Account of the Revenues, Demesne Lands, and Palaces, with the remarkable things done in them.

Of the King's Household; with the several Officers, their Antiquity, Jurisdiction, Rights, Privileges, Salaries, Habits, &c.

Some Volumes of Journals of the King's Council, or scarce Proclamations, Instructions to Ministers, Negotiations, and other State Papers.

Expences of the King's Household, Wardrobe, and Jewel House; Accounts and Lists of the Jewels, and Furniture, with Prices.

Wars, and ancient Military Discipline: Method of raising and maintaining Armies.

Great Officers of the Kingdom.

The CHURCH.

A Monasticon, enlarged to 30 or 40 Volumes.

History of the Greater Abbies, and of the Dissolution.



Lift of Saints, and their Festivals, and of all Dignitaries in Cathedrals: also of Monastical Officers, Rectors and Vicars of greater Parishes.

Accounts of the several Books used in the Latin Church, like Allatius's of the Greek ones.

History of the Knights Templars.

The PEOPLE.

Remarkable Customs and Ceremonies, in Lands, Tenures, at Court, in the Field and Fleet.

Habits of all States and Degrees, with Names and Draughts, Weapons, Instruments and Utenfils, with ditto.

Lift of Nobility, Officers of State, High Sheriffs, Mayors, &c.

Parliament Rolls and other Records, the more scarce.

Chivalry and Heraldry.

Manufactures and Handicrafts.

GOOD BOOKS WANTED.

A Treatise on Seals, with Draughts.

History of the Jews in England.

Domesday, and the Red Book of the Exchequer.

A Glossary, including Somner, Spelman, Cowel, &c. and new Words from Charters, and other MSS.

A Compleat Anglo-Saxon Bible.

Another Bible of Wickliffe's Time, with a comparative Account of later Editors and Translations.

A Dictionary for fixing the English Language, as the French and Italian.

A Book wherein the several Offices, Fashions, Habits, Utenfils, &c. introduced into England, might be noted in Chronological Order.

A Body of Saxon Laws and Homilies: a Cento Saxonicus, and a Britannia Saxonica, desired by Dr. Hickes.

Of the Use of Musick, Interludes, Masques, and Plays in England.

Collections

Collections of Letters and Hands, with Explanations of Abbreviations.

“ Such a Society” (says the author of this plan, who was probably Mr. Wanley) “ will bring to light, and preserve, all old Monumental Inscriptions, &c. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Engraving, Musick, will come under their consideration; and, the ancient methods being restored, many things may be used afresh. They will explain obscurities, not only in our own, but in Greek and Roman authors. A correspondence might be maintained through England and abroad, and fit persons sent to travel over England and abroad, to inspect Books and MSS. to draw ancient Fortifications, Castles, Churches, Houses, Tombs, Inscriptions, Epitaphs, Painted Glass, &c. and, if need be, to buy up the most curious for the Society. This Establishment, their Library and Repository, would be an ease and satisfaction to the Officers of State, and to Foreigners, that attend their Meeting; a seminary and school, for learning the ancient constitution, laws, and customs, of this Kingdom; and to promote Trade, Manufactures, &c.” Mr. Wanley seems to have laid this plan before the Earl of Oxford (whose house he thought the most proper for the meeting, on account of his library), in order for his procuring the incorporation from the Queen, and her warrant to all keepers of the Records and Libraries, to suffer Mr. Wanley to peruse, and transcribe, what he thought fit, *gratis*.

After these meetings had continued about ten years, as the number of gentlemen who composed them increased, it was resolved to form themselves into a Society, to meet every Wednesday evening: each member to pay ten shillings and six pence on his admission, and one shilling on the first Wednesday in every month [g].

[g] Since the incorporation of the Society, the admission fee is fixed at five guineas, and the annual payment at one; or ten guineas over and above the admission fee, in lieu of annual contribution, for ever.



towards defraying the expence of engraving and publishing such curious monuments, or dissertations, as, after having been twice proposed at a general meeting, should be approved by the majority present. A President, Secretary, Director, and Treasurer, to be elected by the majority, on the third Wednesday [*b*] in January. The President to have a double vote in all debates on an equality, and to nominate one or more Vice Presidents. The Secretary to read the papers offered, and to transcribe them into a book; and to register all Orders, Minutes, Admissions, Donations, &c. The Director to superintend all the Drawings, Prints, and Publications, and deliver to the members their share in such works; and to receive, and give in, the votes on a ballot. The Treasurer to receive Subscriptions, Admission Fees, and Contributions, and to pay the necessary disbursements: his accounts to be audited and registered annually. Every new Member to be balloted for the night [*i*] after he is proposed; and nine Members to be present at every act of the Society. Every Member who is a year [*k*] in arrears, on notice, and failure of payment within six months after, to be expunged from the list. Correspondents, in remote parts of the kingdom, were to address their letters to Mr. Gosling, Bookseller, in Fleet-street, one of the Members. Every Member to have one, or more, of the yearly publications, amounting to the value of his yearly subscription, at prime cost; the rest to be sold for the benefit of the Society. And whatever drawings or prints may be useful to the works of any other person, he might, by consent of the majority, have the use of them, or any number of impressions, at an agreed price, or acknowledgement, or on paying half the cost of drawing, or engraving, for as many copies

[*b*] The election of Officers is now fixed to St. George's day, April 23.

[*i*] Now six nights, except Noblemen.

[*k*] Now two years, and two months notice.

as amount to the prime cost: the plate remaining to the Society [1].

The Society had met during the Michaelmas Term, 1717-18: but their first Election of Officers was in January, 1717-18, when Peter Le Neve, Esq; was chosen President, Dr. Stukeley Secretary, Mr. Samuel Gale Treasurer, and Mr. John Talman Director. The Founders of this Society, as entered in Dr. Stukeley's copy of their Minute Book, July 1717, were,

PETER LE NEVE [m].

WILLIAM STUKELEY [n].

JOHN TALMAN [o].

[1] Dr. Stukeley's MS. in the Archives of the Society.

[m] Norroy, one of the most eminent preservers of our Antiquities in this century. Dr. Smith (Synops. Bibl. Cotton, p. 42) mentions a copious and accurate History of Norfolk, preparing for the press by him. He died 1730, and was succeeded as President by the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; who dying in 1749, the Duke of Richmond was elected; and, on his death, in the following year, Martin Folkes, Esq; succeeded. The Society, on the demise of this learned Antiquary 1754, elected Hugh Lord Willoughby of Parham, and on his death, 1765, the late Dr. Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, whose zeal for these studies will render his memory ever dear to all Antiquaries, and especially to this Society, to whom he was a considerable benefactor. He was succeeded 1768, by the Reverend Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter.

[n] This indefatigable searcher after British Antiquities in the earliest periods, died 1765, aged 78; having published the first volume of *Itinerarium Curiosum*; 1724, fol. and elaborate descriptions of Stonehenge and Abury, 1723 and 1740, fol. An Account of Richard of Cirencester, with his Map of Roman Britain and the Itinerary thereof, 1757, 4°. *Palæographia Britannica*, 3 Nos. 1743, 1746, and 1752. *Palæographia Sacra*, 3 Nos. 1736, 1752, 1760; and some lesser tracts. *History of Carausius*, 1757-9, 4°. His library, and other curiosities, were sold by auction at Essex-house, 1766. He was succeeded as Secretary by Mr. Alexander Gordon; and he, in 1741, by Mr. Joseph Ames; to whom was associated, in 1754, the Reverend Mr. William Norris; now, by the death of Mr. Ames, sole Secretary.

[o] A Yorkshire gentleman, an elegant delineator of Architecture and Monuments, died 1726; succeeded in this office of Director to the Society, by Sir Charles Frederick, Dr. Birch, Dr. Ward, Dr. Taylor, and the present Master of the Temple, Dr. Gregory Sharpe. A considerable number of his drawings are in the possession of the Society. Mr. West has another collection of them.



EDWARD ALEXANDER [p].

ROGER GALE [q].

SAMUEL GALE [r].

HENRY HARE [s].

[p] Admitted Proctor in Doctors Commons 1695; some years Register to the Commissary of London Diocese, died October 27, 1751, aged 80. See Morant's Essex, under Ongar, I. 129.

[q] Son of that eminent critic and antiquary Dr. Thomas Gale, Dean of York; Commissioner of Excise, Treasurer of the Royal Society, and one of the Vice-presidents of this; published the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, 1722, fol. and his father's *Comment on Antoninus's Itinerary*, 1709, 4°. His *Discourse on the four Roman Ways in Britain* is printed in the 6th volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, and *Remarks on a Roman Inscription found at Lanchester*, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, N°. 357. He died 1744; and his collection was sold by auction.

[r] Brother to Roger; Commissioner of the Customs; published the *Antiquities of Winchester Cathedral*, 1715, 8°, and died 1754: having been Treasurer to this Society 21 years; in which office he was succeeded by Mr. Compton; and he, 1762, by Mr. Colebrooke, the present Treasurer.

[s] Late Earl of Coleraine; descended, by the younger branch, from Sir Nicholas Hare, Baronet, Master of the Rolls, and Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII. (the elder branch being seated at Stow Hall, in Norfolk) was born at Blechingley, in Surrey, May 10, 1693; educated at Enfield, under Dr. Uvedale. After the death of his grandfather, Hugh Earl of Coleraine, 1708, by which he succeeded to the title, he was admitted at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; the President of which, Dr. Turner, married one of his sisters; and Dr. Basil Kennet, who succeeded to the Presidency, 1712, inscribed an epistolary poem on his predecessor's death to his Lordship. He was a great proficient in the learned languages, particularly the Greek; and eminently versed in History, both Civil and Ecclesiastical; had made the tour of Italy three times; the second time with Dr. Conyers Middleton, about 1723, in which he made a noble collection of Prints and Drawings of all the Antiquities, Buildings, and Pictures in Italy; given after his decease to Corpus Christi College. The esteem in which he was held by the Literati procured him admittance into the *Litteraria Republica di Arcadia*; and the particular intimacy of the Marquis Scipio Maffei; who afterwards visited him at his ancient manor and seat at Tottenham, in Middlesex. His Lordship died at Bath, August 10, 1749; and was buried in the family vault at Tottenham, built, with the vestry, by his grandfather. His very valuable collection of Prints and Drawings, relative to English Antiquities, was procured after

J O H N

# INTRODUCTION.

xxxv

JOHN HARE [*t*].

GEORGE HOLMES [*u*].

JAMES MICKLETON [*x*].

WILLIAM BECKET [*y*].

JOHN CHICHELEY.

— WROTTESELEY.

— PAVEY.

HUMPHREY WANLEY [*z*].

ROBERT SANDERSON [*a*].

his death for this Society, by Mr. Henry Baker, to whom we are obliged for this account of his Lordship.

[*t*] Richmond Herald; died 1720.

[*u*] Many years Clerk to Mr. Petit in the Tower; after whose death he was appointed, by Lord Halifax (then President of a Committee of the House of Lords), to methodize and digest the Tower Records, at a yearly salary of twelve hundred pounds, continued to his death, in 1748, in the 87th year of his age.

[*x*] Of Grays Inn, Esq; inherited many valuable collections relative to the city of Durham, made by his grandfather, who held a public office there. Quere, if the epitaph in the Minster yard there, printed by Le Neve (Mon. Ang. III. 138) on Christopher Mickleton, of Mickleton, in Yorkshire, and student of Clifford's Inn, who died 1669, belongs to this collector. Davis's Rites of Durham, 1671, are dedicated to James Mickleton, who came to an untimely end, about 1719; Letter from Mr. Sare to H. Wanley, Harl. MS. 3782. where, it is said, Mr. Spearman, Under-sheriff, and Deputy-register in Chancery at Durham, would endeavour to purchase his collections.

[*y*] Surgeon, author of an Essay on the Antiquity of touching for the King's Evil, - - -, 8vo. on the Venereal Disease in England; and other subjects in the Philosophical Transactions, Nos. 357, 365, 366, 383. He died November 25, 1738.

[*z*] An eminent adept in the Saxon Antiquities, and the science of distinguishing the different sorts of writing, of which last he intended to publish specimens. He drew up a Supplement to Hyde's Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. which Mr. Hearne published. He travelled over England, at the desire of Dr. Hickes, in quest of Saxon MSS. of which he gave the account in the Doctor's Thesaurus; and intended an edition of the Bible in Saxon. He was Librarian to Lord Oxford until his death, 1726. In the Society's room is an original picture of him by Mr. Thomas Hill, 1711.

[*a*] Usher of the Court of Chancery, Clerk of the Rolls; assisted Mr. Rymer in publishing the *Fœdera*, which he continued after Mr. Rymer's death, beginning with the 16th volume; and died Dec. 25, 1741.



WILLIAM NICHOLAS [b].

MAURICE JOHNSON [c].

SAMUEL KNIGHT [d].

GEORGE VERTUE [e].

BROWN WILLIS [f].

ROBERT STEPHENS [g].

JOHN HARWOOD, [b].

[b] Store-keeper in the Tower, died at Shaftesbury, Dec. 27, 1749, aged 81; the last of the family of Sir Edward Nicholas, who was Secretary of State to Charles I. and II.

[c] Native of Spalding in Lincolnshire, and Steward of that manor, where he founded an Antiquarian Society as a Cell to this of London, to which he from time to time communicated their minutes. Dr. Stukeley (Itin. Cur. p. 22.) insinuates, that a particular account of Spalding was expected from this eminent Antiquary, who died Feb. 1, 1755.

[d] LL.D. Archdeacon of Berks, Prebendary of Ely, Rector of Bluntsham in Huntingdonshire; published Lives of Erasmus and Dean Collet, 1724, 1726, 8vo. and died 1748.

[e] Distinguished by his warm pursuit of our Antiquities, and accurate delineation of every curious Monument that came within his notice. He died July 24, 1756; and a considerable part of his collections, notes, and drawings, are now in the hands of the Hon. Horace Walpole. The Engravings published by the Society during a course of 50 years were executed by him.

[f] Esq; LL.D. of Whaddon-hall, Bucks, grandson of the famous physician, Dr. Thomas Willis. He was admitted at Christ Church, Oxford, 1699; represented the town of Buckingham, 1705; and died 1760, aged 78; leaving to the University of Oxford his valuable cabinet of English Coins, and some MSS. He published Notitia Parliamentaria, 3 vol. 8vo. 1715, 1716, 1730. History of the Mitred Abbies, 2 vol. 8vo, 1718, 1719. Surveys of the Welsh Cathedrals, 4 vol. 8vo, 1715—1721. and of many of those in England; with a Parochiale Anglicanum, 1727, 2 vol. 4to. A new edition of Eton's Thesaurus, 1754, 4to. and the History and Antiquities of the Town and Hundred of Buckingham, 1755, 4to.

[g] Succeeded Mr. Madox as Historiographer Royal; died 1732; published Lives of North, &c.

[h] LL.D. Of Queen's Coll. Camb. F. R. S. Commissary to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's; admitted Advocate in the Commons, Oct. 24, 1689; died about 1740.

Their

Their Minutes begin February 5, 17<sup>17</sup>/<sub>18</sub>, with a resolution, to engrave the three first Prints in the present list [i]. To this resolution successfully pursued we owe the preservation of many valuable Monuments in our own country. For the encouragement of other like publications, it was the practice, when fix of the Members subscribed to any work, to include a seventh copy for the Society's library. Every Member, or whoever was admitted to be present, brought from time to time whatever they had of their own, or their friends, that was curious or uncommon; as Coins, Medals, Seals, Intaglias, Cameos, MSS. Deeds, Records, Rolls, Genealogies, Extracts and Memoranda, Pictures, Drawings, or Printed Books; on which, as they were handed round the table, each gave his opinion. Accounts, and frequently Drawings, of these exhibitions, were entered in the Minutes; and whereas it was the practice at first only just to minute down the reading of such Dissertations as were offered by the Members on particular subjects; Abstracts of each have lately been taken, or the Dissertations themselves deposited in the Archives of the Society.

In 1724, when the Earl of Hertford was President, they determined to collect accounts of all the ancient Coins relative to Great Britain and its dominions. The British class or series was undertaken by Dr. Stukeley, who had engraved fifteen plates before he died; the Roman by Mr. Roger Gale and Mr. Aynsworth [k]; the Saxon by Mr. Wanley; the Danish by Mr. S. Gale; and the English by the Earl of Hertford, Mr. Le Neve, Mr. William Nicholas, and the Rev. Mr. Creyke [l]. Martin Folkes, Esq; a Member of this Society, intending a compleat account of the latter class in Gold and Silver, prevailed with them, in 1731, to lay

[i] St. James's Font, Ulfus' Horn, and Rich. II.

[k] Author of the Latin Dictionary, of the Monumenta Vetustatis Kempiana, 1720, 8vo. de Clypeo Camilli antiquo Dissertatio, 1734, 4to. Ισείον, five, ex veteris monumenti Isiaci descriptione, Isidis delubrum referatum, 1729, 4to.

[l] Chaplain and Executor to Heneage Earl of Winchelsea.



afide their design, after they had engraved some of Bishop Sharpe's and other tables of our Gold and Silver Coins [m]. Upon the death of Mr. Folkes, 1754, the Society purchased his plates and copy of his executors, and compleated his design, by republishing his tables and plates, with explanations, at their own expence, in 1763, in quarto. Another design was to collect all papers, &c. relative to the Order of the Bath, to compile a History of it, as Mr. Ashmole had done of that of the Garter. Nor should we, in justice to the Society, omit that other most laudable plan for illustrating the Topography of Great Britain, by the useful queries, circulated by them over the kingdom; answers to which were to be addressed to their Secretary. Notwithstanding this most useful scheme failed, every one must be convinced of the great advantages to be derived from it.

The number of Members was at first limited to One Hundred; and no Honorary ones allowed of. Their first Meetings were held at a Tavern; and having treated without success for a piece of ground in White Fryars, to build on, they removed, 172<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub>, to apartments in Gray's Inn, and afterwards in the Temple. On the death of the Earl of Winchelsea, Dr. Stukeley's removal to Grantham, and the absence of Mr. Le Neve, Mr. Gale, and other eminent Members, the Society seemed for a time to decline. Several attempts were made to unite it to the Royal Society [n], notwithstanding the obvious difference in their pursuits; the one being limited by their Institution and Charter to the *Improvement of Natural Knowledge*, the other to *the Study of History and Antiquities*. In 1728 this Society renewed their meetings at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet-street, having so far complied with the desire of those gentlemen who were also Members of the other Society, as to fix them to Thursday evening, after the Royal Society had broke up. From that time we may date the flourishing state of the Society of Antiquaries, who finally removed in 1753 from the Tavern to their House in Chancery-lane.

[m] Vertue's MS. in the Archives of the Society.

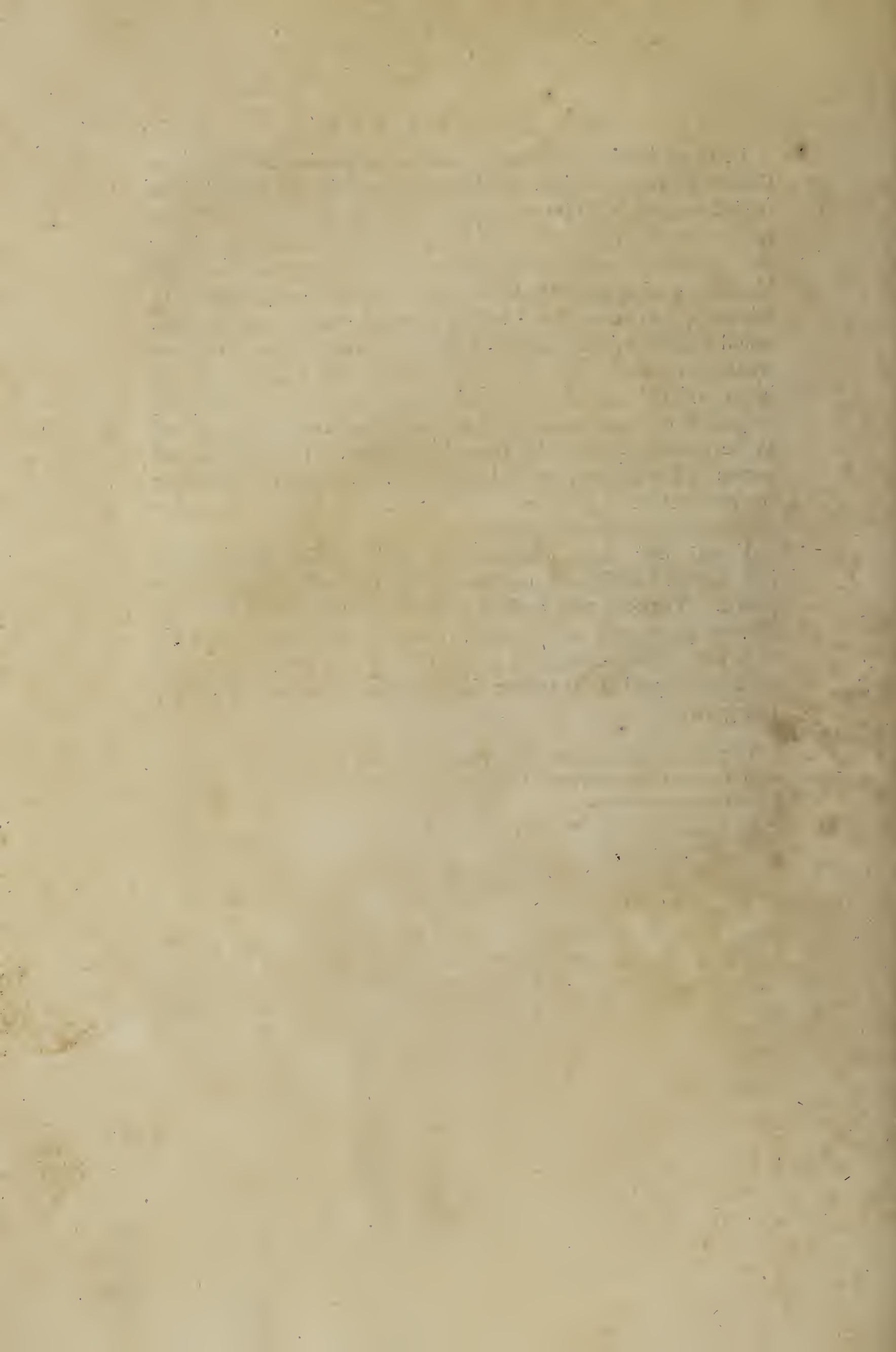
[n] Vertue's MS. ubi supra.

In 1750, it was unanimously resolved to petition the King for a Charter of Incorporation, on the plan formed in the beginning of the last century, with improvements. This, by the generous concurrence of the late Earl of Hardwicke, then Lord Chancellor, and their then President Martin Folkes, Esq; was obtained the year following; his Majesty being pleased to declare himself "Founder and Patron" of this Society so incorporated by the name of "President, Council, "and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London," empowered to have a body of statutes, and a common seal; [o] and to hold in perpetuity lands, &c. to the yearly value of 1000*l*. The Council to consist of twenty-one persons (including the President), and to be elected yearly with the other Officers. The first Council named in this Charter, which bears date Nov. 2, 1751, pursuant to the powers therein given to them, re-elected as Members the other persons not particularly specified.

From their first settlement in their present House, they had formed a design of communicating their discoveries to the public. They are now enabled to present them with the following curious pieces and dissertations, composed or communicated by their learned Members, many of them deceased; to whose merit this publication will be a tribute that supercedes the most flattering panegyric.

[o] This seal is Arg. a cross of St. George, G. charged in the centre with a royal crown of England, Or. Crest, an antique lamp, Or, burning. Motto, NON EXTINGVETVR.





*The following Speech (printed by Order of the Society) was delivered by the Reverend Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, Jan. 12, 1769, on his succeeding the late Bishop of Carlisle, as President of the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.*

GENTLEMEN,

**M**Y earliest thanks are due to this respectable Society in general, and to the Members of the Council in particular, for the honour conferred on me in electing me your President.

CONSCIOUS that I am indebted solely to the partiality of my friends for this honourable mark of distinction; and at the same time truly sensible of the disadvantages under which I succeed to an office so ably filled by my late most worthy predecessor; I must entreat your candour, Gentlemen, and desire your indulgent acceptance of my services, which shall be exerted in a constant attendance on your public meetings, and in a diligent application to the business and interests of the Society.

I CANNOT repeat the name of our most respected and much lamented President, without paying that grateful tribute to his memory, which his services to the Society whilst he lived, and his generosity perpetuated to them at his death, do most justly demand of us; and I am persuaded, that every absent as well as present Member will join in this acknowledgment with a most willing and grateful voice.



It is not in my power to draw such a portrait of his Lordship, as can in any respect do justice to the original.

His merits and good qualities are so universally acknowledged, and so deeply impressed on the minds of those who hear me, that their own ideas will paint them in more just and lively colours than my words can express: I may be indulged however in recalling to your minds such parts of his character as particularly endeared him to the Society, and therefore make his loss more sensibly felt by us.

THE study of Antiquity, especially that part of it which relates to the History and Constitution of these kingdoms, was one of his earliest and most favourite pursuits; and he acquired great knowledge in it by constant study and application, to which he was led, not only by his natural disposition, but also by his state and situation in life. He took frequent opportunities of improving and enriching this knowledge, by judicious observations, in the course of several journies which he made through every county in England, and through many parts of Scotland and Wales. The Society has reaped the fruits of these observations in the many valuable papers which his Lordship from time to time has communicated to us; which are more in number, and not inferior either in merit or importance, to those conveyed to us by other hands.

BLEST with a retentive memory, and happy both in the disposition and facility of communicating his knowledge, he was enabled also to act the part of a judicious commentator and candid critic, explaining, illustrating, and correcting, from his own observations, many of the papers which have been read at this Society.

His station and connections in the world, which necessarily engaged a very considerable part of his time, did not lessen his attention to the business and interests of the Society. His doors were always open to his friends, amongst whom none were more welcome to him than the friends of Literature, which he endeavoured to promote

mote

mote in all its various branches, especially in those which are the more immediate objects of our attention. Even this circumstance proved beneficial to the Society; for, if I may be allowed the expression, he was the centre in which the various informations on points of Antiquity from the different parts of the kingdom united, and the medium through which they were conveyed to us.

His literary merit with the Society received an additional lustre, from the affability of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the benevolence of his heart; which united every Member of the Society in esteem to their Head, and in harmony and friendship with each other. A principle so essentially necessary to the prosperity, and even to the existence of all communities, especially those which have Arts and Literature for their object, that its beneficial effects are visibly to be discerned in the present flourishing state of our Society, which I flatter myself will be long continued under the influence of the same agreeable principles.

I SHALL conclude this imperfect sketch of a most worthy character, by observing, that the warmth of his affection to the Society continued to his latest breath; and he has given a signal proof of it in the last great act which a wise man does with respect to his worldly affairs; for, amongst the many charitable and generous donations contained in his will, he has made a very useful and valuable bequest of manuscripts and printed books to the Society, as a token of his affection for them, and of his earnest desire to promote those laudable purposes for which they were instituted.



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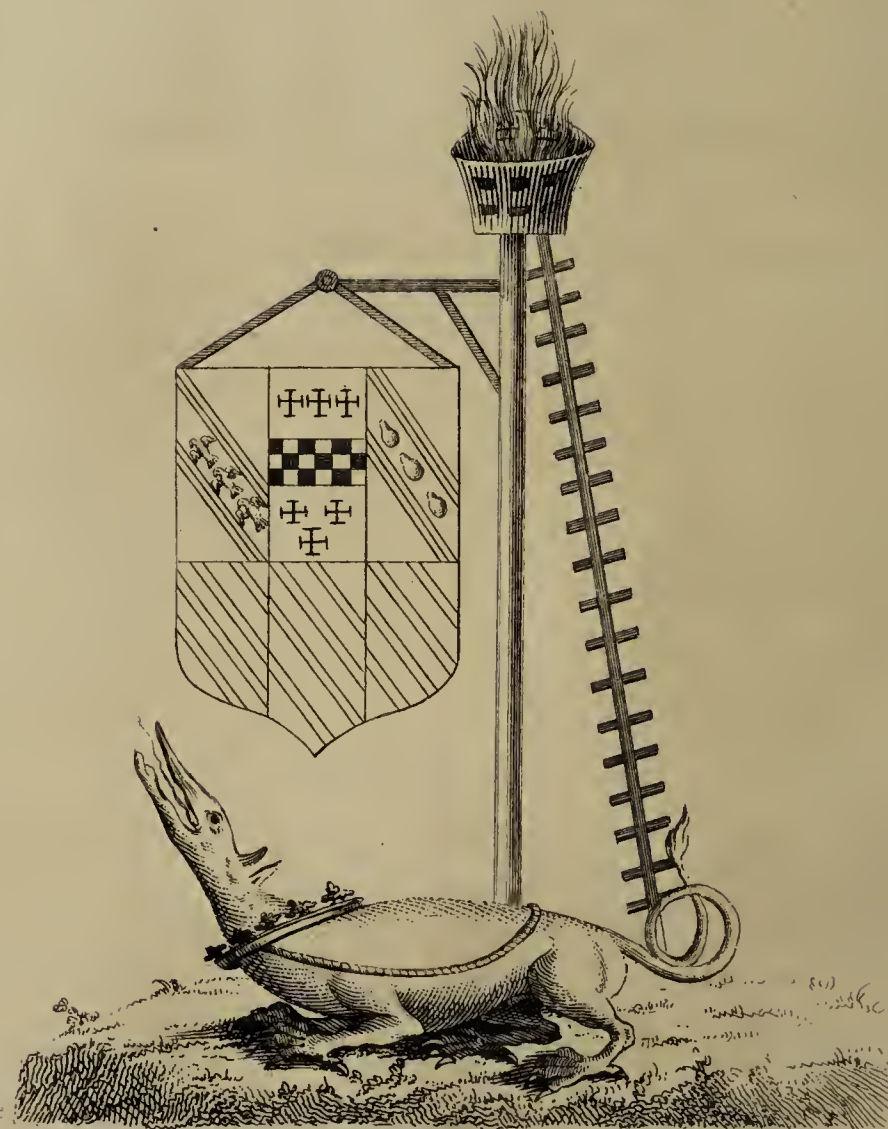
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# ARCHAEOLOGIA:

O R,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

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*I. Some Observations on the Antiquity and Use of Beacons, more particularly here in England. By Mr. Professor Ward, of Gresham College.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 13, 1749.

**I**N the year 1740, as I was viewing, with a friend, the church at Burton Dassett in Warwickshire, we happened to observe a painted board, placed over the entrance into the chancel, but so covered with dust, that neither we nor the sexton, who attended us, knew what to make of it. But as it seemed to represent something uncommon, we desired we might inspect it something more nearly: And when the sexton had taken it down, and washed it, we perceived it was the picture of a coat of arms, with a Beacon for the crest, as represented in Fig. I. and upon further enquiry we found that by tradition, there had been formerly a Beacon upon the north side of the hill where the church stands, erected by one of the Belknap Family, who was then lord



of that manor. The board which contains this picture, is nineteen inches and a half in height, and fourteen in breadth. The draught here given of it, is reduced to the size of one fourth of the original.

DIFFERENT methods have been taken in different countries, both antiently and of later ages, to convey the notice of any impending danger to distant places with the greatest expedition. But no kind of signals hath more generally prevailed for this purpose than that of fires in the night. That this was practised among the Jews, we learn from the sacred writers: Hence the prophet Isaiah, in allusion to that custom, threatens them that they should be left, “as a Beacon upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on “a hill,” (chap. xxx. 17.) And in like manner Jeremiah alarms them by saying, “Set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem, for “evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction;” (chap. vi. 1.) And as to other eastern countries, Aristotle (*De mundo*) informs us that these signals were so disposed on towers through all the territories of the king of Persia, that, in the space of twenty-four hours, he could receive advice at Susa and Ecbatana, his two capital cities, of any commotions or disturbances, that might be raised in the most distant parts of his dominions. But the Greeks, as Thucydides relates, made use of torches for signals, which, by a different management, served either to give notice of the approach of an enemy, or the arrival of friends to their assistance. For, as the Scholiast says, in the former case, “the torches were shook by “those who held them;” and, in the latter, “they were kept “steady,” (see *Lib. XI. c. xciv. and Lib. III. c. xxii.*) [a]. The

[a] There is a remarkable instance of this antient custom in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (ver. 290.) where Clytaemnestra informs the chorus of the Greeks having taken Troy the night before, which she had learned from the torches or lights, conveyed, by the appointment of Agamemnon, even to Mycenae in Greece. Concerning which Isaac Vossius thus delivers his opinion: “*Quod si fabulosæ “sint faces istæ Agamemnoniæ, quas Aeschylus memorat Clytaemnestrae fuisse “nuntias Trojæ captæ, a Troja Mycenæ usque; saltem certum est veras esse* like

like custom of nocturnal fires obtained also among the Romans, as appears from Cicero, where, speaking of the misconduct of Verres, when Governor of Sicily, he says ; “ Non enim sicut antea consue-  
 “ tudo erat, praedonum adventum significabat ignis e specula subla-  
 “ tus ; sed flamma ex ipso incendio navium, et calamitatem accep-  
 “ tam et periculum reliquum nuntiabat : (Lib. V. in Verrem, § 91.)  
 Wherefore signals of this sort are called by Pliny, “ ignes praenun-  
 “ tiativi :” (Nat. Hist. Lib. II. § 73.) which he distinguishes from  
 the *Phari*, or light-houses, that were placed upon the coasts for  
 the direction of ships ; the latter of which were constant, but the  
 former only occasional.

It may seem unnecessary to produce more authorities in proof  
 of a thing so evident ; and therefore I shall only add here, that,  
 as this method of conveying intelligence appears to be no less easy  
 than expeditious, it is no wonder, if we find, that most nations  
 have fallen into the practice of it. And as our word *Beacon* seems  
 to have been taken from the Saxon Beacen, which in that language  
 denotes a signal, or as Camden (Brit. p. 196. ed. 1607.) chooses  
 to derive it from Beacnian, the import of which is “ to give no-  
 “ tice by a signal ;” it cannot well be doubted, but such fires  
 were in use here, when those people were in this country ; which  
 is generally agreed on to have been somewhat earlier than the mid-  
 dle of the fifth century.

BUT, with regard to the form of our Beacons, as we learn  
 from lord Coke, (Fourth Institut. c. xxv. p. 184.) “ Before the  
 “ reign of Edward III, they were but stacks of wood set up on  
 “ high places, which were fired, when the coming of enemies were  
 “ descried ; but in his reign pitch-boxes, as now they be, were,  
 “ instead of those stacks, set up. And this properly is a Beacon,

“ potuisse ; cum faces in Ida accensae facile possint videri ab iis qui in summo Athone  
 “ versantur, ac quivis nuntius similiter per faces traduces ex uno monte in alium  
 “ ad remotissima etiam loca momento pene possit propagari.” (Ad Melam, Lib. II.  
 cap. ii. p. 119.) T. M.



“ but light-houses, or Phari, are properly to direct sea-faring men  
 “ in the night, when they cannot see marks. Which sea-marks, as  
 “ steeples, churches, castles, trees, and such like, were for their  
 “ direction in the day-time. And they are called *signa marina*,  
 “ or *speculatoria*, or *signa maris*.” But Camden further informs  
 us, (Brit. p. 196. ed. 1609.) that “ It had been the custom an-  
 “ tiently for horsemen, then called hobelers, to be stationed in  
 “ most places, in order to give notice of the enemy’s approach in  
 “ the day.”

By our common law, as we are told by the same learned judge, none but the king could erect any of these three, which was ever done by the king’s commission under the great seal. Tho’ in later times, by letters patents granted to the lord admiral, he had power to erect all of them. And by an act made in the eighth year of Q. Eliz. it is provided, that the master, and wardens, and assistants of Deptford strand, may lawfully, at their costs, make, erect, and set up Beacons, marks and signs for the sea, on sea shores, and upon land near the sea coasts, whereby the dangers may be avoided, and ships the better come to their ports. The money due, or payable, for the maintenance of Beacons, was called *Beconagium*, which, as he says, was levied by the Sheriff of the county upon each hundred, as appears by an ordinance in manuscript for the county of Norfolk, issued to Robertus de Monte and Thomas de Bardolfe, who sat in parliament as Barons, 14 Edward II.

As the power of erecting Beacons was originally in the king, and continued to be limited by grants from the crown, in the manner here related; it may deserve enquiry, whence it came to pass, that we find them worn as crests to the arms of several families: So they appear in those of Shelly of Michel-Grove in Suffex, Butler, Mountford, Sudley, Belknap, and some others; and I can think of no more probable reason to assign for this, but that it might at first be granted for some remarkable achievements

ments which had been performed by persons of those families in times of danger, when the Beacons were fired: Unless it may be supposed, they obtained special grants, which empowered them to erect and maintain Beacons at their own expence.

THE draught belonging to this account, is much the same with those we meet with annexed to coats of arms, consisting of a vessel at the top, supported by a pole, and a ladder placed against the pole to ascend to the vessel. But tho', in lord Coke, the vessels which contained the fuel, are called *pitch-boxes*, and I suppose generally were so; yet I am inclined to think this was made of iron, with holes in the side for the admission of air to ventilate the fire. And probably in Warwickshire the fuel was not pitch, but the coal of that county, which is large, burns freely, and very bright.

SIR William Dugdale has described the arms of the Belknap family as blazoned, " Azure on a bend cotized argent, three Eaglets displayed of the same; with a fiery Beacon proper Or, on a Griffin Vert, for a Crest." (See Index of Families, with their arms blazoned, subjoined to his history of Warwickshire). And he informs us, that the family of Sudley antiently enjoyed the manor of Dasset or Dercet, which came afterwards into the possession of the Belknaps. (Antiq. of Warwickshire, p. 961.) He has also given us a draught of the arms of this family, impaled with another coat, and the Beacon crest, upon a Griffin, agreeably to the description above; as they are painted in the North window of the church at Knowle, or Cnolle, in the same county. And therefore, notwithstanding the arms upon the board at Dasset (which are also impaled) are now very much defaced; yet as the Eaglets remain very apparent, they confirm the tradition, that both they and the crest relate to the family of Belknap. The animal is likewise of a proper colour, which is a dusky green; but how it came to differ so much in its shape from that at Knowle, and has a chain fastened to the collar, the Painter, I presume, must



must be answerable. Unless we may suppose, that this animal was not designed for a Griffin, which is always drawn with wings; but for a Salamander.

FROM these circumstances, it appears very probable, that a Beacon was erected upon this hill at Dasset, which lies in the south part of the county, is very high, and visible at a great distance. And there is the like tradition at another place in the north west part, about two miles from Knowle, named *Bickenhill*, which seems plainly a corruption from Beacon-hill. And so the country people there usually call it; tho' Sir William Dugdale attempts to derive it from an old English word *Biggen*, a *Hall*, or manor-house, (p. 975.) The situation of this place appears no less suited for a Beacon, than Burton Dasset; but as no remains of either of them are now extant, he might not think it necessary to take notice of them. And therefore he only mentions one, which then remained in the parish of Monkskirby, being placed on a *Tumulus* on the north side of the top, and in the north east part of the county.

THE position of these three Beacons seems not to have been casual, but designed; being placed in the form of a scalenous triangle, and no two of them at a greater distance from each other, than about twenty two measured miles in a direct line. By the advantage of this situation, any one of them, being fired in a dark night, might, from those eminencies on which they all stood, have been seen in that open county, in one of the places at least, where the other two were erected; and by that means an alarm given, in a very short time, through the whole county. Besides, Warwickshire lying so much in the heart of the kingdom, those Beacons, when all lighted, would at the same time convey notice to six other adjacent counties; that at Burton-Dasset into Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire; that at Beckenhill into Staffordshire and Worcestershire; and that in Monkskirby parish into Leicestershire

tershire and Northamptonshire. All which counties are as near at least to one or other of those Beacons, as these are to each other.

As therefore the care and contrivance of our ancestors, in providing for the safety and preservation of the country, appears so evident in the description of these Beacons; it might, I thought, deserve to be taken notice of. And it is not improbable but the like prudent management may be discovered in other counties, upon due enquiry and observation.

## II. *The Order of the Maundy* [b] *made at Greenwich,* March 19, 1572.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 16, 1749.

**F**IRST, the hall was prepared with a long table on each side, and forms set by them; on the edges of which tables, and under those forms, were layed carpets, and cushions for her majesty to kneel, when she would wash them (*the poor*). There was also another table laid across the upper end of the hall, somewhat above the foot pace, for the chappelan to stand at. A little beneath the midst whereof, and beneath the foot pace, a stool and cushion of estate was pitched for her majesty to kneel at during service time. This done, the holy water, basons, alms, and other things, being brought into the hall; and the chappelan and poor

[b] Skinner, in his Etymologicon, observes, that Minshew derives the word from the Lat. *mandatum*, sc. the *command* of Christ to his disciples: But Sir H. Spelman, perhaps more justly, from the Fr. G. Mande, *sportula*, an *alms* or *dole*. T. M.



folks having taken their said places, the yeoman of the laundry, armed with a fair towel, and taking a silver bason filled with warm water and sweet flowers, washed their feet, all, one after another, wiped the same with his towel, and so making a cross a little above the toes kissed them. After him within a while followed the sub-almoner, doing likewise, and after him the almoner himself also; then lastly her majesty came into the hall, and, after some singing and prayers made, and the gospel of Christ's washing his disciples feet read, thirty nine ladies and gentlewomen, for so many were the poor folks (according to the number of the years complete of her majesty's age), addressed themselves with aprons and towels to wait upon her majesty; and she kneeling down upon the cushions and carpets under the feet of the poor women, first washed one foot of every of them in so many several basons of warm water and sweet flowers, brought to her severally by the said ladies and gentlewomen, then wiped, crossed, and kissed them, as the almoner and others had done before. When her majesty had thus gone through the whole number of thirty nine, of which twenty sat on the one side of the hall, and nineteen on the other; she resorted to the first again, and gave to each one certain yards of broad-cloth to make a gown. Thirdly, she began at the first, and gave to each of them a pair of shoes. Fourthly, to each of them a wooden platter, wherein was half a side of salmon, as much lyng, six red herrings, and two cheat [c] lofes of bread. Fifthly, she began with the first again, and gave to each of them a white wooden dish with claret wine. Sixthly, she received of each waiting lady and gentlewoman their towel and apron, and gave to each poor woman one of the same. And after this the ladies and gentlewomen waited no longer, nor served as they had done throughout the courses before; but then the treasurer of the chamber (Mr. Henneage) came to her majesty

[c] I know not what to make of the word *cheat*, unless it be for *chet*, and that for *manchet*, a small white loaf. T. M.

with

with thirty-nine small white purses, wherein were also thirty-nine pence (as they say) after the number of the years of her majesty's age; and of him she received and distributed them severally; which done, she received of him so many several red leather purses, each containing twenty shillings, for the redemption of her majesty's gown, which (as men say) by ancient order she ought to give to some one of them at her pleasure; but she, to avoid the trouble of suit, which accustomably was made for that preferment, had changed that reward into money to be equally divided amongst them all, namely twenty shillings a piece; and those she also delivered particularly to each one of the whole company; and so taking her ease upon the cushion of state, and hearing the choir a little while, her majesty withdrew herself, and the company departed; for it was by that time the sun-setting.

March 20, 1572.

W. L. [William Lambart].

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### III.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 16, 1756.

**T**H E dean of Exeter (now bishop of Carlisle) shewed the Society a large parchment roll containing a list of new years gifts presented to queen Elizabeth at Greenwich on the 1st January, 1584-5, signed by the queen, and countersigned by John Astley Esq; master and treasurer of the jewels; by which it appears, that the greatest part, if not all the peers and peeresses of the realm, all the bishops, the chief officers of state, and several of the queen's household servants, even down to her apothecaries, master-cook, serjeant of the pastry, &c. gave new years gifts to her majesty.

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THESE gifts consisted either of a sum of money, or jewels, trinkets, wearing apparel, &c. The largest sum given by any of the temporal lords, was twenty pounds; but the archbishop of Canterbury gave forty pounds, and all the other spiritual lords thirty, twenty, and ten pounds. Many of the temporal lords and great officers, and most of the peeresses, gave rich gowns, petticoats, kirtles, doublets, mantles, some embroidered with pearls, garnets, &c. bracelets, caskets studded with precious stones, and other toys. The queen's physician presents her with a box of foreign sweet-meats. Another physician with two pots, one of green ginger, the other of orange flowers. Her apothecary with a box of lozenges, and a pot of conserves. Her master cook with a fayre marchepayne (a macaroon then in fashion); her serjeant of the pastry a fayre pye oringed—The sum total of the money given on this occasion amounts to eight hundred and twenty eight pounds, seven shillings; the jewels, trinkets, apparel, &c. not valued.

ON the back of the aforesaid roll occurs a list of the new years gifts presented by the queen in return; the whole of which consists of gilt plate: To the earl of Leicester one hundred and thirty two ounces: To the earl of Warwick one hundred and six ounces: But to all the other earls thirty and twenty ounces: To the duchess of Somerset, the only duchess, twenty five ounces: To the countesses fifty, forty, and twenty ounces: To the archbishop of Canterbury forty five ounces; to the other prelates thirty five, thirty, twenty and fifteen ounces: To the baronesses from fifty two to fifteen ounces: To sir Christopher Hatton lord chamberlain four hundred ounces: To all her maids of honour and gentlewomen of her household, as well those who presented gifts as those who did not, from twenty to two ounces—Thus—To Mrs. Tomyfen the dwarf two ounces—To the physicians thirteen, the apothecary seven, the cook and serjeant of the pastry five ounces.

Sum total 4809 ounces of gilt plate.

N. B.

N. B. At the bottom of the roll are entered gifts in plate from the queen to ambaffadors from Scotland, Denmark, &c. to the queen's god-children and at weddings, &c. Thus to the Scotch ambaffador, called the Justice clerk, five hundred and forty five ounces: To lord Gray, the King of Scots ambaffador, one hundred and thirty five ounces: At the chriftening the earl of Cumberland's child, one hundred and forty ounces: Mr. Southwell's ditto, forty three ounces: Lord Talbot's ditto, twenty seven ounces.

At the marriage of fir Henry Nevill's fon with mr. Henry Killigrew's daughter, a gilt cup with a cover, weighing twenty fix ounces; "quod nota bene."

IV. *Extraëts from the Church-wardens Accompts of the Parifh of St. Helen's, in Abington, Berkfhire, from the firft Year of the Reign of Philip and Mary to the thirty fourth of Q. Elizabeth, now in the Poffeffion of the Reverend Mr. G. Benfon, with fome Obfervations upon them. By J. Ward.*

Anno MDLV. or, 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary.

	s.	d.
PAYDE for making the roode and peynting the fame	5	4
For making the herfe lyghtes and pafchal tapers	11	1
For making the roode lyghtes	10	6
For a legend	5	0
For a hollie water pot	6	0
Anno MDLVI. payde for a boke of Articles	0	2
C 2		For



	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For a shippe for frankincense	0	20
For new wax, and making the herse lyghtes	5	8
For the Font taper and the paschal taper.	6	7
Received for the holye looft lyghtes	33	4
For the roode lyghtes at Chrifmas	23	2 <i>ob.</i>
At the burial and monethes mynde of George Chynche	0	22
For twelve tapers at the yeres mynde of maister John Hyde	0	21
At the burial and monethes mynde of mr. Rede	13	0
At the burial and monethes mynde of the good wiff Braunche	12	4
Anno MDLVII. Received of the paryshe for the roode lyghtes at Chrifmas	21	9
Of the clarke for the holy loft	36	8
At the burial of Richard Ballerd for four tapers	0	6
At the monethes mynde of R. Ballard for fix tapers	0	6
At the burial of Richard Frende a stranger for four tapers	0	8
At the twelve monethes mynde of maister Rede for twelve tapers, and the best paule	2	4
At the monethes mynde of William Hyde esquire for ditto	2	4
At the monethes mynde of William Myles laborer for four tapers.	0	4
At the twelve monethes mynde of Elizabeth Branche widdow for two tapers	0	4
At the monethes mynde of John Cowles wyf for two tapers	0	2
At the monethes mynde of Thomas Perkins for twelve tapers, two torches and the best paule	2	6
Of mrs. Tesdale's daughter for fix tapers, and two tapers for quater dirges	0	8
Payde for peynting the roode of Marie and John, and the patron of the church	6	8

To

	s.	d.
To fasten the tabernacle where the patron of the church now standeth	0	8
For the roode Mary and John with the patron of the church	18	0
For the herse lyghtes	3	8
For making the roode lyghtes	15	5
For the roode Mary and John, and the patron	7	0
To the sextin for watching the sepulter two nights	0	8
To the suffrigan for halowing the church-yard and other implements of the church	30	0
For waft of the paschall, and for holye yoyle	5	10

Anno MDLVIII, MDLIX. or, 4 and 5 of Philip and Mary. And  
1 and 2 of Elizabeth.

	s.	d.
<b>R</b> E C E I V E D for roode lyghtes at Christmas 1558	18	6
For roode lyghtes at Christmas 1559	18	3 ob.
At Ester 1558 for the pascall lyghte	34	0
For wax to thense the church on Ester day	0	20
At Ester 1559 for the pascall lyghte	35	0
For the holye loff 1558	34	0
For the holye loff 1559	34	0
At the burial of Richard Croose skolemaster for six tapers	0	6
At the monethes mynde of maister Croose for four tapers	0	4
At the burial of Agnes Tesdale for eighteen tapers, two torches and the paule	3	0
More for Agnes Tesdale for two tapers every day and nyghte by all the monethe	31	8
At the monethes mynde of John Langley for twelve tapers, and Richard Langley, both under one	0	18

At



	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
At the obbit of maister Reade for twelve tapers	0	18
At the monethes mynde of Richard Large for twelve tapers	2	0
At the twelve monethes mynde of Elyn Mathew for twelve tapers	0	18
At the monethes mynde of Elyn Lynge for fix tapers	0	9
At the twelve monethes mynde of Thomas Perkyns for four tapers	0	4
At the twelve monethes mynde of John Dowfying, and the monethes mynde of Agnes Borne for ten tapers	0	10
At the monethes mynde of Thomas Tesdale for twelve tapers	3	0
At the two yers mynde of mr. Reade for twelve tapers	0	18
At the burial and monethes mynde of William Powell for fix tapers	0	12
Payde for making the sepulture	10	0
For peynting the same sepulture	3	0
For stones and other charges about it	4	6
To the sexten for meat and drink and watching the sepulture according to custum	0	22
For gathering herse lyghtes by the yere	4	0
For making herse lyghtes and roode lyghtes	24	1
To the bellman for meat, drink and coales, watching the sepulture	0	19
For the communion boke	5	0
For taking down the altere	0	20
For four song bokes and a sawter	6	8

Anno

Anno MDLX. or 3 of Elizabeth.

	s.	d.
<b>R</b> E C E I V E D of Thomas Hethe for the holye loft	2	0
Of William Dalye for the holye loft	6	4
At the burial of Robert Charilton for his grave and the paule, and other benevolence to the church, and for his monethes monument	10	0
At the burial of Thomas Jenens, and also his wyf for the paule and other benevolence, and at the monethes monument	16	0
At the burial of William Bakehouse for the paule and other benevolence, and at his monethes monument	2	4
At the burial and monument of John Collynges, and Jone the wyf of Northe cote	0	18
At the burial of Richard Hill, and at his monethes mynde with the paule	3	8
At the yeres mynde of Agnes Walter	0	8
Payde for tymber and making the communion table	6	0
For a carpet for the communion table	2	8
For mending and paving the place where the aultere stoode	2	8
For two doffin of Morres belles	1	0
For fower new faulter bokes	8	0
For gathering the herse lyghtes	4	0

Anno MDLXI. or 4 of Elizabeth.

	s.	d.
<b>P</b> A Y D E for four paunde of candilles upon Christ- mas day in the morning for the masse	0	12
For a table of commandments and kalender, or rewle to find out the lessons and psalmes, and for the frame	2	0
To the somner for bringing the order for the roode lofte	0	8

To



	s.	d.
To the carpenter and others for taking down the roode lofte, and stopping the holes in the wall, where the joices floode	15	8
To the peynter for wrighting the scripture, where the roode lofte floode, and overthwarte the same isle	3	4
To the clarkes for mayntaining and repayring the song bokes in the quyer	4	0
Anno MDLXII. or 5 of Eliz. payde for a bybill for the church	10	0
Anno MDLXIII. or 6 of Eliz. payde for one boke of Wendfdayes fasting, which contaynes omellies	0	6
Anno MDLXIV. or 7 of Eliz. payde for a communion boke	4	0
For reparations of the crofs in the market place	5	2
Anno MDLXV. or 8 of Eliz. payde for two bokes of common prayer agaynste invading of the Turke	0	6
For the repetition of the communion boke	4	0
Anno MDLXVI. or 9 of Eliz. payde for setting up Robin Hoodes bower	0	18
Anno MDLXXIII or 16 of Eliz. payde for a quire of pa- per to make four bokes of Geneva salmes	0	4
For two bokes of common prayer new sett forth	0	4
Anno MDLXXIV. or 17 of Eliz. payde for candilles for the church at Christmas	0	15
Anno MDLXXVI, MDLXXVII. or 19 and 20 of Eliz. payde for a new byble	40	0
For a boke of common prayer	7	0
For writing the commandments in the quire, and peynting of the same	19	0
Anno MDLXXVIII. or 21 of Eliz. payde for a boke of th'Articles	0	18
Anno MDXCI. or 34 of Eliz. payde for an houre glafs for the pilpitt.	0	4

THE church-wardens accompts of a particular parish may in themselves be justly thought a matter of no great consequence, and not worthy of much regard. But these seem to deserve some consideration, as they relate to a very remarkable period in our history, and prove by facts the great alterations that were made in religious affairs under the successive reigns of Q. Mary and Q. Elizabeth, together with the time and manner of putting them in execution; and may therefore serve both to confirm and illustrate several things related by our ecclesiastical historians.

I. WE find mention made in the extracts of the roode and rood-loft. By the former of which was meant either a crucifix, or the image of some saint, erected in popish churches [*d*]. And here that name is given to the images of Mary and John; as also to that of St. Helen, the patroness of the church. These images were set in shrines, or tabernacles, and the place where they stood, was called the rood-loft; which was commonly over, or near the passage out of the body of the church into the chancel [*e*]. In the

[*d*] The word *rood* is derived from the A. S. *rode*, crux. Skinn. In its primary signification, as Junius observes, it formerly denoted any sort of image, but was afterwards peculiarly adapted to our Saviour, as fixed on the cross or to the cross itself. Hence *rood-beam*, *rood-tree*, in Chaucer.

“ I lokynge up unto that rufull roode.” Magd. 204.

“ He lyethe in the grave under the roode beme.” W. B. 496.

“ That for us dyede on the roode tree.” Cl. Ox. 558.

So Piers Plowman, p. 8.—“ Mercie for Mary’s love of heven,

“ That bare the blisful barne, that bought us on the rood.”

Scot. *rude*. The good and learned bishop Doug’as, in the prologue to the tenth book of his translation of Virgil, says,

“ Thou large fremys fched upon the rude.”

And in his prologue to the eleventh book,

“ Think how the Lord for the on’rude was rent.” T. M.

[*e*] And, wot you what Spiritual mystery was couched in this position thereof? The church (forsooth) typified the Church militant; the chancel represents the Church triumphant, and all who will pass out of the former into the latter, must go under the Rood-loft, *i. e.* carry the cross, and be acquainted with affliction. Fuller, (Hist. of Waltham Abby, p. 16.) who says, he adds this the rather because Harpsfield (Fox. Act. and Man. p. 1690.) confesseth himself ignorant of the



year 1548, the first of K. Edward VI. such images and their shrines were ordered to be taken down, as we are told by bishop Burnet (Hist. of the Reform. VOL. II. B. I. p. 61.) but they are restored again upon the accession of Q. Mary, as we find here by the first article.

2. THE ship for frankincense, mentioned in the year 1556, was a small vessel, in form of a ship or boat, in which the Roman Catholics burn frankincense to perfume their churches and images.

3. The book of articles purchased in 1556, seems to be that which was printed, and sent over the kingdom, by order of Q. Mary, at the end of the year 1554 [*f*], containing instructions to the bishops for visiting the clergy. See Burnet, VOL. III. B. ii. p. 254.

4. WE find frequent mention made of lights and other expences at the *funeral*, “the monthes mind, the year’s mind, the two years “mind,” and the *obit* of deceased persons; which were masses performed at those seasons for the rest of their souls; the word *mind* there signifying the same as memorial or remembrance. And so it is used in a sermon yet extant of bishop Fisher, intitled, “A “mornynge remembrance had at the monethes mynde of the noble “princess Margarete, countesse of Richmonde and Darbye, &c.” As to the term *obits*, services of that kind seem to have been so called, when annually performed [*g*]. The office of the mass for

Rood-situation. Anno 1554, or 1 of Mary, In the church-wardens account at Waltham abby, “payde for Mary and John that stand in the rood-loft 26s. 8d.” “Christ on the crosse saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing by” “(John xix. 26.) In apish imitation whereof the Rood (when perfectly made “with all the appurtenances thereof) was attended with these two images.” (Fuller’s Hist. p. 17.)

[*f*] Anno 1554, or 1 of Mary, “payde to the apparitor for the bishop’s boke “of articles, at the visitation, 6d.” This bishop was Bonner. His articles were in number thirty-seven. And John Bayle wrote a book against them. The bishop’s chief care herein was the setting up of compleat Roods, commonly called, Bonner’s Block-almightie. (Fuller’s Hist. p. 18.)

[*g*] The common expence of an Obit, (Anno 1542, or 34 of Henry VIII.) was 2 s. and 2 d. And, if any be curious to have the particulars thereof, it was each

each of these solemnities may be seen in the Roman-Missal, under the title of "*Missa pro Defunctis*." And it appears, by the different sums here charged on that account, that the expences were suited to persons of all ranks, that none might be deprived of the benefit, which was supposed to accrue from them.

5. It has been customary in popish countries, upon Good Friday, to erect a small building, to represent the sepulchre of our Saviour. In this they put the host, and set a person to watch it, both that night and the next. And the morning following very early, the host being taken out, Christ is said to be risen [*b*]. This we find was done here in 1557, and the two following, the last of which was in the reign of Q. Elizabeth. Du Fresne has given us a particular account of this ceremony as performed at Rouen in France; where three persons in female habits used to go to the sepulchre, where two others were placed representing angels, who told them Christ was risen. (Latin Glossary under the words SEPULCHRI OFFICIUM). The building mentioned in these extracts must be but very slight, since the whole expence amounted to no more than seventeen shillings and six pence.

6. In the article of "wax to thense the church," under the year 1558, the word *Then* is, I presume, a mistake for *Cense*; as they might use wax with the frankincense in perfuming the church.

thus expended. To the parish-priest 4 *d.* to the charnel-priest 3 *d.* to the two clerks 4 *d.* to the children (choristers) 3 *d.* to the sexton and bellman 2 *d.* each; for two tapers 2 *d.* for oblation 2 *d.* (Full. Hist. of Waltham Abby, p. 14.)

[*b*] There is the like article in the church-wardens account of Waltham Abby, anno 1542, or 34 of Henry VIII. "payde for watching the sepulchre 4 *d.*" This, says Fuller, constantly returns in every yearly account, tho' what is meant thereby, I know not. I could suspect some ceremony on Easter Eve (in imitation of the soldiers watching Christ's grave) but am loth to charge that age with more superstition than it was clearly guilty of. (Hist. p. 14.)

Anno 1454, or 1 of Mary, "payde for watching the sepulchre 8 *d.*" But we find none of the former Obits anniverfarily performed: The lands for whose maintenance were alienated in the reign of K. Edward VI, and the vicar not so charitably disposed as to celebrate these Obits gratis. (Ibid. p. 17.)



7. IN 1559, the Altar was taken down, and the year following the Communion Table was put in its place, agreeably to the Injunctions then given by Q. Elizabeth. See Burnet, Vol. III. B. iii. p. 368.

8. WE find masses for the dead continued to this time, tho' here, instead of a Month's Mind, the expression is a Month's Monument [*i*]. But as that office was performed at the altar, this being taken down that year, the other could no longer be continued. And yet we have the word Mass applied to the service performed upon Christmas day the year following. So difficult it is to drop the use of words to which one has been accustomed.

9. THE morrice bells, mentioned under the year 1560, as purchased by the parish, were used in their morrice dances, a diversion then practised at their festivals; in which the populace might be indulged, from a political view, to keep them in good humour [*k*].

10. IN 1561, the Rood-loft was taken down. And the better to obliterate the remembrance of it (as had been done before in the reign of K. Edward VI.), some passages out of the Bible were painted in the place where it stood, which could then give little offence, since the images had been removed the preceding year by

[*i*] In the Injunctions of K. Edward VI. they are called Memories. "At even-song the responds with all the memories shall be omitted." Injunct. 21. By Memories (says Fuller) we understand the Obsequia for the dead, which some say, succeeded in the place of the Heathen Parentalia. (Church-Hist. p. 375.) See Middleton's letter from Rome.

[*k*] Upon my asking the late Mr. Handel, what he took to be the genuine and peculiar taste in music of the several nations in Europe; to the French, he gave the Minuet; to the Spaniard, the Saraband; to the Italian, the Arietta; and to the English, the Hornpipe, or Morris-dance. Belg. *Moorischen dans. i. e. Tripudium Mauritanicum.* (Skin.) "Nam faciem plerunque inficiunt fuligine et peregrinum vestium cultum assumunt, qui ludicris talibus indulgent, ut Mauri esse videantur, aut e longius remotâ patriâ credantur advolasse, atque insolens recreationis genus advexisse." (Jun. Etymol.) T. M.

the

the queen's Injunction, upon a representation of the bishops. (See Burnet, Vol. II. B. iii. p. 368, and Strype's Annals.

11. IN 1562, a Bible is said to have been bought for the church, which cost ten shillings. This, I suppose, was the Geneva bible in quarto, both on account of the small price, and that edition, having the division of verses, was best suited to public use. It was an English translation, which had been revised and corrected by the English exiles at Geneva in Q. Mary's reign, and printed there in 1560, with a dedication to Q. Elizabeth. In the year 1576, we find another Bible was bought, which in the article is termed the New Bible, and said to have cost forty shillings; which must doubtless have been the folio, usually called Archbishop Parker's Bible, printed at London 1568, by Richard Jugge the queen's printer. They had prayer-books, psalters, and song-books, for the churches at the beginning of this reign, but the whole Bible was not then easily procured.

12. IN 1565, there is a charge of six pence for two common-prayer books "against invading of the Turke." It was thought the common cause of the Christian state in Europe to oppose the progress of the Turkish arms by all methods, both civil and religious. And this year the Turks had made a descent upon the the isle of Malta, where they besieged the town and castle of St. Michael, when, upon the approach of the Christian fleet, they broke up the siege, and suffered a considerable loss in their flight, as may be seen in Thuanus, lib. XXXVIII. And as the war was carried on between them and the emperor Maximilian in Hungary, the like prayer books were annually purchased for the parish till the year 1565 inclusive.

13 THE year following there is an article of "eighteen pence" for setting up Robin Hood's bower [1]. This, as I imagine,

[1] The story of Robin Hood was in high vogue among the common people; as Sloth sayth of himself in Piers Ploughman:

"I cannot Parfitly mi Pater noster as the Priest it syngeth;

"But I can Rymes of Robenhode, and Randolf erl of Chester."



might be an arbor, or booth, erected by the parish at some festival feastho' for what reason it received that name, I know not.

14. IN 1573, mention is made of "paper for four bookes of Geneva psalmes." It is well known that the vocal music in parochial churches received a great alteration in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, being changed from antiphonies into metrical psalmody, which is here called the Geneva psalms.

15. IN the year 1578, ten pence were paid for a book of the Articles. Those Articles were agreed to and subscribed by both houses of Convocation in 1562, and printed the year following. But in 1571, being again revived, and ratified by act of parliament, they seem to have been placed in churches.

16. THE last article in these extracts is "four pence for an hour glasse for the pulpit." How early the custom was of using hour glasses in the pulpit, I cannot say, but this is the first instance of it which I remember to have met with.

It is not to be thought that the like regulations were all made within the same time in all other places. That depended in a good measure upon the care and vigilance of the bishops in their several dioceses. And according to their affection and zeal for the Reformation, these things were managed with greater or less expedition. Abington lies in the diocese of Salisbury; and as bishop Jewel, who was first nominated to that see by Q. Elizabeth, continued in it 'till the year 1571, it is not to be doubted, but every thing was there carried on with as much expedition as was judged consistent with prudence [*m*].

[*m*] It is wittily observed by Fuller, that as careful mothers and nurses, on condition they can get their children to part with Knives, are contented to let them play with Rattles: so they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive superstitions. (Ch. High. p. 375.)

SOME further remarks might be made upon these accompts; but they seem so obvious, as to render it unnecessary; and I fear, lest those already offered should be thought too tedious [n].

[n] It may not be improper however (as mention is here made of “a common prayer book new set forth,” anno 1573, and a bible anno 1562) to remind, or inform some readers, that, in the reign of K. Henry VIII, the liturgy was said or sung in Latin, save only “the creed, the Lord’s-prayer and the ten commandments,” anno 1536. But anno 1548, or 2 of K. Edward VI, the first edition of the liturgy, or common-prayer, was set forth in print by authority. The 2d edition as reviewed, &c. by a Statute in Parliament, anno 1552. And the 3d edition anno 1559, or 1 of Q. Elizabeth; the prayer-book here mentioned.— And as to the Bible, the first translation was made anno 1541, in the reign of K. Henry VIII. The second translation in the reign of K. Edward VI, anno 1549 and 1551. The third in 1559, or 2 of Q. Elizabeth, commonly called the Queen’s Bible.

The title of this article put me in mind of a sort of prophecy in that antient poem, called, Piers Ploughman.

“And than shull the Abbot of Abyngton, and all his issue for ever,

“Have a knock of a king, and incurable the wound.” T. M.

## V. *Observations upon Shrines, by John Loveday, of Caversham, Esquire.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 12, 1754.

**D**R. Stukely has accurately distinguished two kind of shrines, both equally made for receiving the reliques of saints: but with this difference, that one sort was portable, and used in processions; and the other fixed, as being built of stone, marble, and other heavy materials [o]. The former of these were called Feretra, under which word Du Fresne says: “feretra reliquias sancto-

[o] Philosoph. Transact. Num. CCCCXC. pag. 580.



“*rum continentia cum proceffionibus circumlata non femel legere est [p].*” And altho’ this fort could only with propriety bear that name, yet was it alfo given to the immoveable fixed shrines; as to our protomartyr’s at St. Alban’s [q], Thomas Becket’s at Canterbury [r], Birinus’s at Dorcheſter [s], Cuthbert’s at Durham [t], and Edward the Confefſor’s at Weſtminſter.

BUT to be more explicit: I preſume the fixed shrines differed little more from other grand ſepulchral monuments, than as the former contained the reliques of canonized perſons, and the latter of thoſe who were not ſo. Some notion of the peculiar magnificence of this fort of shrines may be collected from the words of Eraſmus and Stow, with regard to T. Becket’s, as quoted together in Somner [u]; as alſo from “The antient rites and monuments of Durham,” with regard to Cuthbert’s [x]. The treaſure about theſe shrines made it neceſſary that they ſhould be cloſely looked after. Hence we find, that one of the monks at Weſtminſter was called *Cuſtos Feretri*, as Widmore obſerves; as likewiſe one of thoſe at St. Alban’s [y]; where north of the ſhrine, or rather now of the ſite of the ſhrine, is ſtill remaining a ſtructure of wood for a watch-houſe to it. The retainers to the Shrine at Canterbury are taken notice of by Somner [z], and thoſe to the ſhrine at Durham in *The Ancient Rites, &c.* [a].

IN the cathedral of Durham, there were indeed two conſiderable shrines, that of Cuthbert, which was fixed, and a portable one of Bede, deſcribed in *The Antient Rites, &c.* [b]. Adjoining to each of theſe was a little altar, bearing the name of the inſhrined ſaint [c], which might probably be a conſtant appendage to every ſhrine. It may alſo be here obſerved, that a draught of a fixed ſhrine of Edward the Confefſor, erected in Weſtminſter abby by K. Henry the Third, has been publiſhed by the Antiquary So-

[p] Gloſſar. Lat. [q] Apparat. ad W. Hemingford p. 145. [r] Somner’s Cant. p. 95. not. e. [s] Tanner, Biblioth. p. 279. [t] Notit. Monaſt. p. 112. b. [u] Widmore’s Hiſt. of Weſtm. Abb. p. 235. [x] p. 125. [y] pag. 6, 114, 115, 144, 145, 159. [z] Hemingford, ubi ſupra. [a] pag. 125. [b] pag. 144, 145. [c] pag. 76, 77, 115, 148, 161. [c] Ibid. pag. 7, 81.

ciety [*d*]; and another of the same age [*e*] and sort, namely, T. Becket's at Canterbury, may be seen in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* [*f*]; as also a third, a portable one, of Saxon antiquity, belonging to Crowland abby, of which an account has been given by Dr. Stukely.

As to the usual situation of fixed shrines in churches, it may perhaps be ascertained from the uniform position of those at St. Alban's, Canterbury, Durham, and Westminster; as likewise of Hugh's shrine at Lincoln, and of Erkenwald's in St. Paul's, London; every one of which stood in the east part of the church, in the space behind the high altar. From whence the irregularity on this score, which Mr. Battely apprehends to have been in the church of Canterbury [*g*], will no doubt disappear.

THERE is a passage in Weever, which may not improperly be here explained, where, treating of the shrines in St. Paul's cathedral, he says: "There was also a glorious shrine, Super Magnum Altare, but to whose holiness dedicated I do not read [*h*]." But perhaps this was only a Glorious Tabernacle, that is, as Spelman describes it, "fabrica honestior, quâ sacramentum, quod vocant, altaris conservatur in ecclesiâ Romanâ, pyxide inclusum [*i*]." The shrine mentioned in *The Antient Rites* [*k*] seems to be somewhat of the same kind.

It may not be foreign to the subject of this paper, to remark here, what Fuller observes, in treating of Tho. de Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford; namely, that he "lived the latest of any English-man who was canonized [*l*]." He lived to the year 1282, in the time of K. Edward the first, and was canonized in the following reign. Fuller has expressed himself with proper caution; since other persons who lived before this bishop might nevertheless be canonized after his death and canonization. And such was the

[*d*] *Vetust. Monument. Rer. Britann.* Vol. I. Numb. xvi. [*e*] *Matth. Paris*, p. 261. [*f*] *L.* xxi. [*g*] *Cantab. Sacr.* pag. 27. num. xviii. [*h*] *Ancient fun. monum.* p. 381. [*i*] *In voce TABERNACULUM.* [*k*] *Pag.* 163. [*l*] *Worthies of Herefordshire*, pag. 36.



case with Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1109 under K. Henry the first ; but was not canonized 'till almost 400 years after, in the reign of K. Henry the seventh.

I SHALL only observe further, that offerings have been made at the tombs of persons not canonized ; tho' indeed this was looked upon as irregular. But such were made at archbishop Winchelsey's tomb at Canterbury [*m*], who was never canonized [*n*].

[*m*] Somner's Cantab. pag. 130. [*n*] Battely, ubi supra, and Carte's Hist. Vol. II. p. 358.

VI. *A Letter from Mr. Smart Lethieullier to Mr. Gale, relating to the Shrine of St. Hugh, the crucified Child at Lincoln.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, November 11, 1736.

IN my journey into the north the last summer, [1736,] I passed some days at Lincoln, on purpose to view the remains of antiquity, which that city affords ; and indeed none in England can boast of more, or better deserves the labour of a judicious pen.

THE cathedral is a very noble and venerable pile, tho' in great danger of going to ruin, for want of a sufficient fund to keep it in repair. In looking over the several monuments within it, I took particular notice of the poor remains of one in the isle on the south side the choir, which I recollected the author of the *Itinerarium Curiosum* had given a draught of as entire (without mentioning whence he had his authority) and called it the shrine of " St. Hugh " the Burgundian bishop of this see."

THE story of this bishop is well known: We are told, that in regard to his sanctity he was carried to his grave on the shoulders of  
of

of two kings: That he was interred at the east end of this church, which, he had new built; and had a shrine erected over his grave, which in the inventory of the riches of this church (an original of which was shewn me in their archives), is said to have been of gold; the marks of which still remain in the pavement; and against the pillar where it stood, and in its place, bishop Fuller, a great restorer of the antiquities of this church, placed a table-tomb, with an inscription on it that has frequently been published.

Now, I believe, there is no instance of the same saint having two shrines dedicated to him in the same church; and from what I have above said, we may therefore conclude, that the forementioned shrine in the south isle never belonged to St. Hugh the bishop; but some other saint must be looked for to hallow it.

THIS saint, I think, I may venture to affirm, was a child named Hugh, who was crucified by the Jews dwelling in this city, in the fortieth year of K. Henry III, and whose torments in the Christian cause were, by the zeal of that age, thought sufficient to merit canonization: But, before I attempt to prove that this shrine was erected to this infant-saint, it seems necessary to produce some evidence, that such an one ever existed; since monsieur Rapin, in his history of the reign of Edward I, speaking of the banishment of the Jews out of England, by the following passage calls in question the certainty of any such crime having ever been committed.

“As for the imputation (says he) of crucifying from time to time Christian children, one may almost be sure that it was only a calumny invented by their enemies.”

BUT, to omit all the retailers of this story, which are many, I refer you at once to Matthew Paris, an historian of veracity and credit, and who probably could not be imposed upon in a fact he was contemporary with, it happening above five years before his death.

THAT author has given us the story in a very full manner, which I shall not trouble you with repeating, but only observe, that he tells us the name of the child was Hugh, and that the canons of Lincoln procured his body, and buried it honourably in their cathedral.



MATTHEW PARIS's relation is fully confirmed by the two records you sent me copies of, the one being a commission from the king to Simon Passeliere and William de Leighton, to seize to the king's use "*domos quae fuerunt Judaeorum Linc. suspenforum pro puero ibidem crucifixo;*" and the other a pardon to one John a convert, who had been condemned, "*pro morte pueri nuper crucifixi apud Lincoln, dum praedictus Johannes fuit Judaeus ejusdem civitatis.*"

As these are as good authority for the truth of this fact as can be brought for any transaction in past ages, I am satisfied you will not require further proof [*m*].

UPON a strict enquiry, I was informed by one of the minor canons (a gentleman who has a taste for these studies), that there was an old tradition among the members of the church, that this was the tomb of the crucified child; and as a farther proof, the verger shewed me a statue of a boy made of free-stone painted, about twenty inches high, which by tradition they affirm was removed from the said tomb or shrine. I have inclosed a slight sketch of it, by which you will observe the marks of crucifixion in the hands and feet, and the wound made on the right side, from whence blood is painted on the original as issuing; the left hand is on the breast, but the right held up, with the two fingers extended in the usual posture of benediction; which attitude, I apprehend, denotes his being a saint, as the wounds do his being a martyr.

[*m*] I shall beg leave only to add the testimony of our English Homer:

O yongè Hewe of Lyncoln, flayne also,  
With cursyd Jewes, as it is notable,  
For it is but a lytel while ago,  
Pray eke for us, we synful folk unstable,  
That of his mercy, God be merciablen  
On us, his grete mercy multiply,  
For the reverence of his mother Mary.

Chauc. The Prioress's Tale. T. M.  
THE

THE head is broken off, probably at the time when all the statues in this church underwent that fate.

IN the draught of this shrine given in the *Itinerarium*, the figure of the boy is not expressed: That draught, I have reason to believe, was copied from a book of drawings of all the monuments in this cathedral, taken by order of sir William Dugdale before they were destroyed in the late Civil-wars; which book is now in the lord Hatton's library; but the statue of the boy, I apprehend, was removed long before, by virtue of an order from Henry VIII, for taking away all causes of superstition or idolatry. The materials this was made of were not worth transferring to the Exchequer (whether the shrines of St. Hugh and of St. John of Dalderby were sent, the one being gold, the other silver). But this figure was set in a by-place just behind the high altar; where we found it covered with dust and obscurity. As there is no danger of superstition in this age, I could wish it were replaced in its proper station.

Give me leave further to observe, that I think this a very remarkable monument, and a strong proof of a piece of our English history, which by the passage in Rapin is rendered very dubious; and, since this fact at Lincoln is so well attested, there is the less reason to doubt the other stories of the same kind which are recorded in different historians, and are collected together by Mr. Prynne in his "*Demurrer to the Jewes*."

I OUGHT to conclude with the usual apology for detaining you so long from some better employment; but hope to hear from you that you were not tired with this long epistle. If you think it worth communicating to our Society, you have my free consent; and I should be glad to hear any objections made to it. Mr. Willis, to whom I have communicated the purport of it, sends me word he is entirely of my opinion, and extremely pleased to have his error (in calling it the shrine of St. Hugh the bishop) corrected.

I am, &c.

S. L.

VII. A



VII. *A Letter from Maurice Johnson Esq; to Mr. New, relating to the Registers of the Bishops of Lincoln.*

THE registers of the bishops of Lincoln, in the bishop's office at Lincoln, begin earlier than those which are remaining either at Canterbury or York, or perhaps any other in England, *viz*, from bishop Wells, who was consecrated anno 1209, to bishop William Barlow anno 1608. The series is in good preservation: The institutions of Wells, Greethead, Lexington, and Sutton, are wrote on long narrow rolls; the Mss. of appropriations, confirmation of abbots, priors, &c. being endorsed on the same, excepting Sutton's, which are wrote in a vellum book; and all the succeeding bishops institutions and Mss. are down to the Reformation; after which period they are most carelessly written on paper. One of the most curious and useful records in that repository is a thin quarto, which contains all the endowments of all the vicarages in the diocese, written about 1210. The registers of the dean and chapter commence at ann. 1304; amongst them is a noble copy of the Tax. Ecclesiar. An. Rs. Edw. 21. A. D. 1293, perhaps the best any where extant; and another large volume with rubricks, entitled, "De Ordinationibus Cantariar." wherein all the chauntries in the city, or cathedral, or within their jurisdiction, and the charters, are finely registered; together with sundry sorts of instruments relating to the same; and the chapter's rights of presentation, from the "Hiis testibus" whereof, he has supplied the common catalogues of the majors, or praeposits and bailiffs of that city in a complete series, from 5 Henry III. anno 1220, to the time they begin, which is about a century after.

VIII. *An Extract of a Letter from the same to William Bogdani Esq; October 7, 1741, concerning an extraordinary Interment.*

**I**N a letter to me from Mr. Symfon, master of the works of the cathedral at Lincoln, dated 28 September last, I was informed, that, in digging a grave at the west end of that church, they opened the foot of an ancient sepulchre.—The corpse was sewed up in a strong tanned leather hide, the seam running up the middle of the breast.—I should suppose it to be some great lay lord, before the custom prevailed of laying them within the church itself.

THIS church was built by Remigius, about the time of the Norman conquest, who, in obedience to a canon of 1076, removed his episcopal see from Dorchester hither, and here laid the foundation of his cathedral, under the protection of the castle, and in the capital city of his diocese, in 1088. He had a near relation, Walter lord Deincourt, who had a large estate in this part of England, and seventeen lordships in Lindsey coast, whereof Blankney (afterwards lord Widdrington's) was one, and his chief seat not far from Lincoln. This might be the sepulchre either of him or of his son Deincourt, who, from an inscription on lead, given in sir William Dugdale's I. Baronage, fol. 336 (which I have seen in the dean and chapter's library at Lincoln, and which was taken out of his sepulchre, near, if not in, this tomb about 1670) appears from the words "Hic jacet," &c. to have been buried there.—Gilbert de Grant, earl of Lincoln and constable of the castle there, and his issue, were buried at Bardney Abby, which he refounded or restored, not far from Lincoln, and whereof they were patrons.



IX. *A Dissertation on the Monument of Edward the Confessor.* By Mr. Vertue, 1736.

AS Rapin has made mention of an old inscription on the shrine of K. Edward the Confessor, in Westminster abby, when first erected; it is to be observed, that that which now is there differeth from it, having, as it is said, been wrote, and put in lieu of the former in the reign of K. Richard II, or later. The inscription, as printed in several books, and particularly to be seen in the print of that monument, engraved for the Society of Antiquaries, from a drawing by the late Mr. Talman, is as follows,

Omnibus insignis virtutum laudibus heros,  
Sanctus Edwardus Confessor, rex venerandus,  
Quinto die Januarii moriens super aethera scandit.  
Sursum corda.

Moritur anno Domini MLXV.

THE present inscription is divided and penciled on two faces of the shrine, the south and north sides only; but the old Mosaic inscription, almost defaced, was thus written; and the calcined glass, yellow like gold, cut and set in.

Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno  
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,  
Hoc opus est factum, quod " Petrus duxit in actum,  
" Romanus civis," homo, causam noscere si vis,  
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti praesentis amicus.

No more than what is marked with these " turned commas" at the east end of the shrine, was remaining in April 1741, and in June following they were erased, picked out, and taken away; but are thus translated in Rapin's history.

" In

“ In the year of our Lord 1270, this work was finished by Peter,  
 “ a Roman citizen. Reader, if thou wilt know, how it was  
 “ done ; it was because Henry was the present Saint’s friend.”

It is agreed by our historians, that K. Henry III, was the re-builder of this church, much more magnificent than the former. He died in 1272. It is likewise said by several authors, that he erected this beautiful shrine : But others say it was erected by Richard de Ware, abbot of this church, and lord chancellor to K. Henry III. He was chosen abbot in the forty-third year of Henry III, 1260 ; at which time he went to Rome for his consecration, and brought from thence certain workmen, and rich porphyry stones for Edward the Confessor’s feretory, to be inlaid, and made, as also all the floor of the same chapel, by those workmen ; together with that other curious and singular pavement in the area that lies before the high altar of this church. He continued lord treasurer of England ’till his death, anno 1283, and was buried on the north side of the great altar ; where was an epitaph for him, thus :

“ Abbas Ricardus de Wara, qui requiescit

“ Hic, portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab urbe.”

On the north side of the same chapel, there is also a monument curiously wrought, and adorned with Mosaic works, for K. Henry III, in the same manner and taste of work, with that of Edward the Confessor. Camden [n] says of it, and of K. Henry III,

“ E vivis cessit 1272, xi. Calend. Decemb. cum regnâset  
 “ annos 56, dies 18, Et Westmon. (invitis Templariis, qui corpus  
 “ regium vendicabant) magnifico et sublimi sepulchro, quod Rex  
 “ Edwardus filius Iaspidibus, Ophiticis, &c. quæ è Gallia attulerat,  
 “ plurimum ornavit, ad boreale latus capellæ requiescit cum his  
 “ inscriptionibus.”

[n] Camden, in his work intituled, Reges et Reginae Nobiles et alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulta. London. 1600. 4to, pag. 3.



“Tertius Henricus jacet hic, pietatis amicus,  
 “Ecclesiam stravit istam, quam post renovavit.  
 “Reddet ei munus, qui regnat trinus et unus.”

“Tertius Henricus est templi conditor hujus.

DULCE BELLUM INEXPERTIS.

N. B. Part of the last of these inscriptions, which was written in gilt letters, is still legible.

It is remarkable, that on the monument of K. Edward the Confessor, the name of “Petrus Romanus Civis” was put; he being the who completed, as well as contrived, that curious work, which was of great esteem in those days; wherefore it was permitted, that he should be remembered to posterity equally with the king, who was the re-builder of the church, and very likely the pay-master for the monument; tho’ the Abbot de Ware might bring over the workmen from Rome, and also the materials, as appears by the date of his consecration by the Pope in 1265. When he went to Rome, he undoubtedly went to see the curious public works and the churches; amongst others a new and beautiful shrine of S. Faustina, in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, of the same manner of work and the like materials, as appears by the illuminated draught thereof taken by Mr. Talman, tho’ not entirely of the same form with that of the Confessor; and whereon is the following inscription.

“Jacobus Johannes Capocci et Vinia uxor ejus fieri fecerunt hoc opus,  
 “pro redemptore animarum suarum, anno Domini MCCLVI.”

This shrine is set with curious stones in the Mosaic kind, supported with wreathed columns, according to the draught, Fig. I.

K. Edward’s shrine, Fig. II.

By that date, it appears to have been finished about seven years before the Abbot de Ware came to Rome; and as all those glistering novelties take the eyes of strangers, and being the depository of saints reliques newly exposed, it certainly brought a great number of devotees to visit them; besides, that manner of work was then newly brought in use, being beautiful, rich, and durable: Which invention Orlando, Baldinucci, Vassari, &c. attribute to Giotto the painter, scholar of Cimabue; but, as I have considered these  
 authors

authors and compared them, I presume there may be some mistake; which, I hope, my endeavouring to rectify, will not be disagreeable to the curious. First I must observe, that

VASSARI is the leader of the above mentioned authors; and that the name of this Petrus Romanus Civis was Cavallini; he was born twenty years before Giotto, who was born in 1276, probably after the monument of Edward the Confessor had been finished, and twenty years after the monument of Capocci in St. Mary Major was finished; therefore, Giotto could not have been the painter of those kinds of Mosaic monuments, nor the teacher of Cavallini: But, the better to explain, or clear up this matter, the following extracts from Vassari will demonstrate what I have observed. Vassari has the full account of Pietro Cavallini's works and life; but mentions not his being out of Italy, or in England: yet, the description of Cavallini's works at Rome, or the Mosaic works done there, and at the Pope's appointment in St. Mary's and St. Peter's, gives a reasonable cause to suppose them done at the very time of his life, and for the Pope, who was intimate with K. Edward I, and his companion some time in the Holy-land; who, after the death of his father, K. Henry III, on his return from the Holy-land, came into Sicily to visit the King, who conducted young K. Edward to the Roman court, where he spent some time with his friend Pope Gregory X, which was about the year 1272 and 1273, in the first year after the decease of his father. But, further as a proof, I here extract what Vassari says,—“ Nacque  
 “ in essa (Roma) Pietro Cavallini;—Costui dunque essendo stato dis-  
 “ cepolo di Giotto, et havendo con esso lui lavorato nella nave di mo-  
 “ saico in S. Pietro, fù il primo dopo lui che illuminasse quest' arte,  
 “ e che cominciassè a mostrar di non esser stato indegno discepolo di  
 “ tanto maestro, quando dipinse in Araceli sopra la porta della Sagrif-  
 “ tia alcune storie che hoggi sono consumate dal tempo.—Seppe non  
 “ meno esercitare e condurre a fine il mosaico che haveffe fatta la pit-  
 “ tura;—S' ingegnò farsi conoscer similmente per ottimo discepolo di  
 “ Giotto, e per buon artefice.—In S. Paolo poi fuor di Roma fece la



“facciata che v'è di Mosaico e per la nave del mezzo, molte storie  
“del Testamento Vecchio.”

As this is some proof of his many works in and about Rome, in Mosaic and paintings of different kinds, and certainly done before Giotto's time; therefore more probably Cavallini might have been the scholar of Cimabue, since the monument of Capocci was done in 1256, in his life-time: And perhaps, if not directly his scholar, he might have been an imitator of his works and manner, which were in such great reputation, and so greatly admired; by which means also, as Vassari says of Cavallini, “fù per ciò da Prelati tanto  
“favorito.—Fece in una nave buon numero di figure, nelle quali, per  
“molto piacergli la maniera Greca, la mescolò sempre con quelle di  
“Giotto.—Venne doppo quest' opera Pietro in Toscana per veder le  
“opere degli altri discepoli del suo maestro, ivi dipinse in Santa  
“Maria di Firenze molte figure in fresco.”

HERE it may be observed, if he was in Rome employed in so many remarkable works of reputation, and in favour with the succeeding Popes, especially Gregory X, there is very little doubt to be made, that K. Edward, whilst at Rome, visited those works of Mosaic, being so beautiful and admired for their artifice; and from thence concluded, to have his father's monument also erected at his return: For which purpose he brought with him into England all those fine rich Serpentine and Porphyry stones, some yet to be seen upon his monument, and the inscription on it.

BUT nothing more confirms this opinion than the consideration of so famous an artist from Rome, who thus to posterity eternizes his name, with that of K. Henry III, at whose expence, and with whose appointments, these famous works were done.

As there was certainly a monument for Sebert the Saxon King, and the first founder of the abby, and as it was afterwards erected by K. Edward the Confessor, so it is agreed, that Sebert's bones were re-placed near the altar of this new magnificent church erected by K. Henry III; therefore it is not unlikely that the pencil of Cavallini may have been employed to paint over his tomb, by the said altar; which figures are now much defaced, and hardly visible;  
and

and had been the pictures of St. Peter, St. John, &c. K. Sebert, and Edward the Confessor. St. Peter is painted as speaking to K. Sebert, with many verses by way of question and answer underneath them, tho' now become unintelligible by age. There was a table of Latin verses adjoining to the tomb, telling you, in such metre as that age afforded, of the great merit of K. Sebert.

THERE is a long piece curiously wrought in one of the old presses, which may probably have been used as one of the altar-pieces in those times, painted, and with artificial raised works; adorned also with ornaments and small figures [o]; Contorniato d' Oro, as Vassari mentions, and which possibly may have been the pencil of Cavallini; for both Baldinucci and Vassari say, that after he returned to Rome again, he did many works of different kinds: "Affirmano similmente alcuni che Pietro fece sculture, e che riuscirono, perche haveva ingegno in qualunque cosa:" Therefore not improbable that he might model and make the statue of K. Henry III, in brass, and gilt with gold; which still remains over his tomb; which, by the date of time, may be supposed to have been done in England; not but that some few monumental statues appear to have been done in England before this, of an older date; but they are cut out of the heart of oak, and commonly painted and gilded according to the habits of those times. These two points being settled, that Vassari may be, or certainly, is mistaken, in the age of Cavallini; or of his being Giotto's scholar; it may easily follow, that he might have had no intelligence of what works Petrus Romanus did in

[o] This table of pictures is fixed over the press, wherein the effigies of the kings vulgarly called, The ragged regiment, are placed.

The figures seem to be painted very neatly, whether in oil, or before that invention, I cannot say; but the paint is laid on a thick white ground on board; every part of the ornaments and the frame-work is richly wrought and gilded; many parts being set with stones of beautiful colours, and glass painted with gold, that, no doubt, when first made, it must have been a most costly piece of work. 'Tis about twelve feet long and three feet high. I don't think it was made for this place, nor for this use certainly, but probably for the great altar of this church.



other places than at Rome or Florence, especially if we consider the distance of his time of collecting materials for his history of painting, being, as he himself says, about 1550—1560, near twenty years after Cavalini's death. By this I don't propose to obscure the great reputation that Vassari has gained by that immortal and laborious work; but only, to shew that Cavalini was employed in so honourable and lasting a monument, and as Vassari concludes, “Fù Pietro in tutte le sue cose diligente  
 “molto, e cercò con ogni studio di farsi honore ed acquistar  
 “fama nell' arte; la di cui lodatissima vita è pietà verso Iddio: fù  
 “degnà d'esser da tutti gli huomini imitata. Morì finalmente in  
 “Roma, d'età d'anni 85, nel 1364; fù sepolto in Sto. Paolo fuor di  
 “Roma honorevolmente, e con questo epitaffio,

“Quantum Romanæ Petrus decus addidit urbi

“Pictura, tantum dat decus ipse polo.”

By the date of his death and his age, how improbable is it that he was the scholar of Giotto? and by so many circumstantial points of history, in that period of time, it appears, that he was really the only artist so renowned, named Petrus Romanus Cavallini, the same author and fabricator of the shrine of K. Edward the Confessor, and very likely of other works in the abbey of Westminster.

I must remark, that July 1606, Christiern King of Denmark, brother to K. James the First's Queen, when he came into England, from Greenwich to the tower of London, being attended by the chief clergy and nobility; officers, &c. in great pomp through the city of London, through Temple Bar to Whitehall; the day ensuing, K. Christiern and Prince Henry, with others of both nations, went to the abby of Westminster into the chapel of K. Henry VII, to see the monuments. Against his coming, the image of Q. Elizabeth and certain other images of former Kings and Queens were newly beautified, and adorned with royal vestures; but the

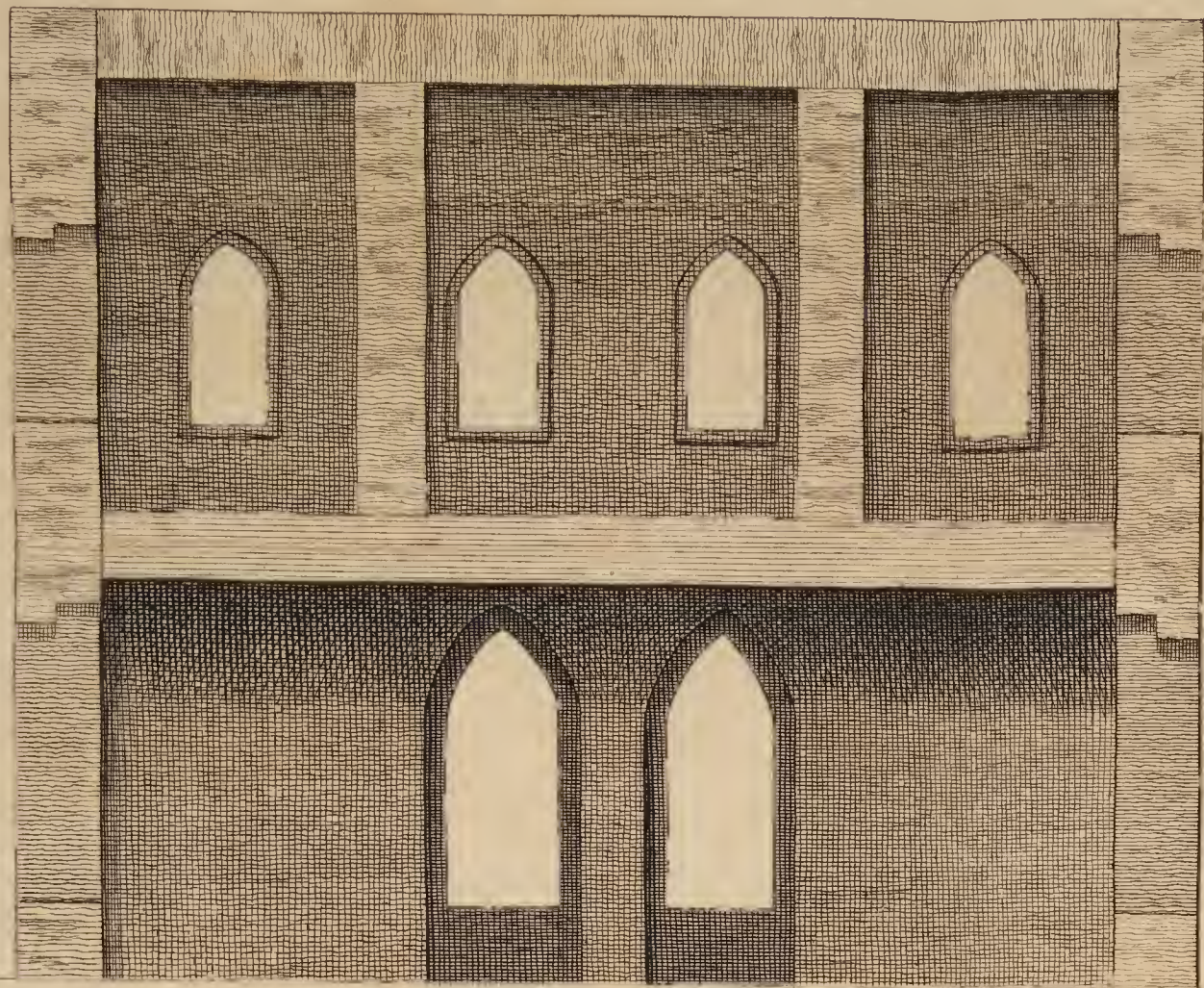
Danish



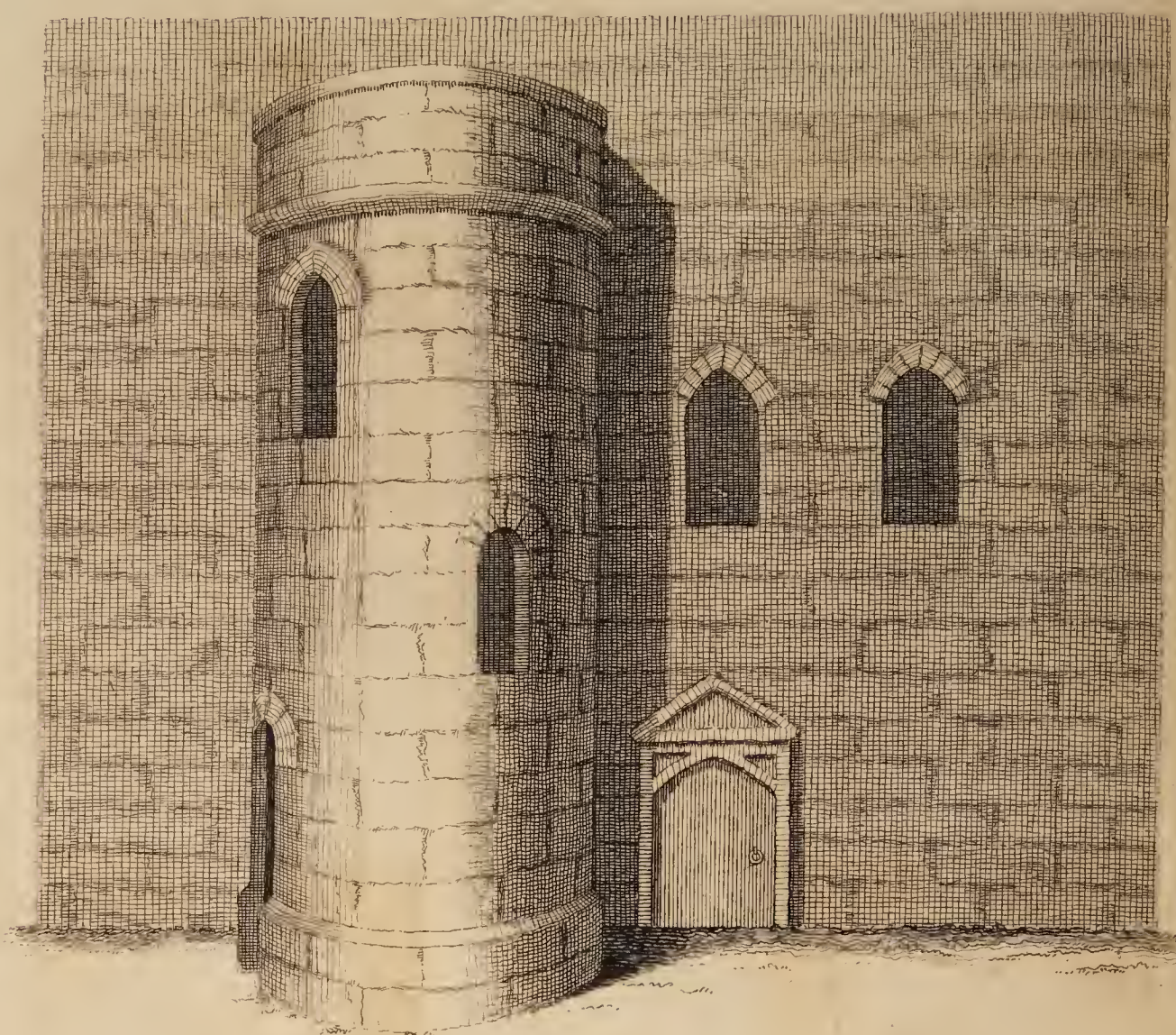


# The Sanctuary at Westminster.

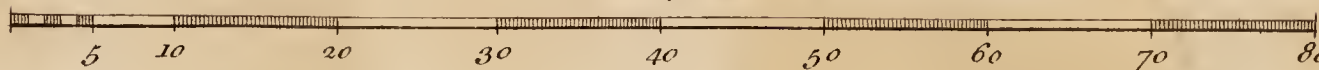
Section



Front

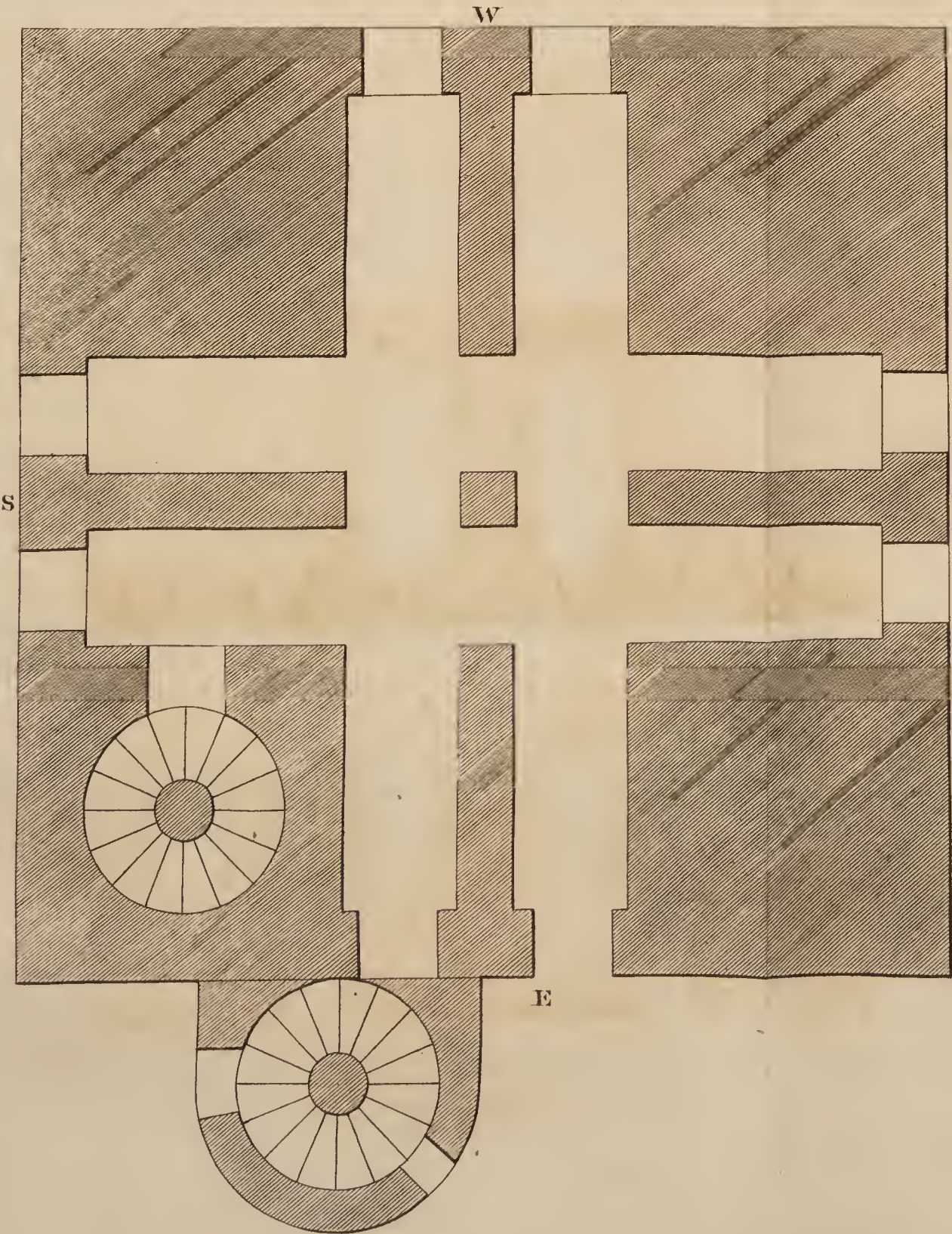


Scale of Feet.

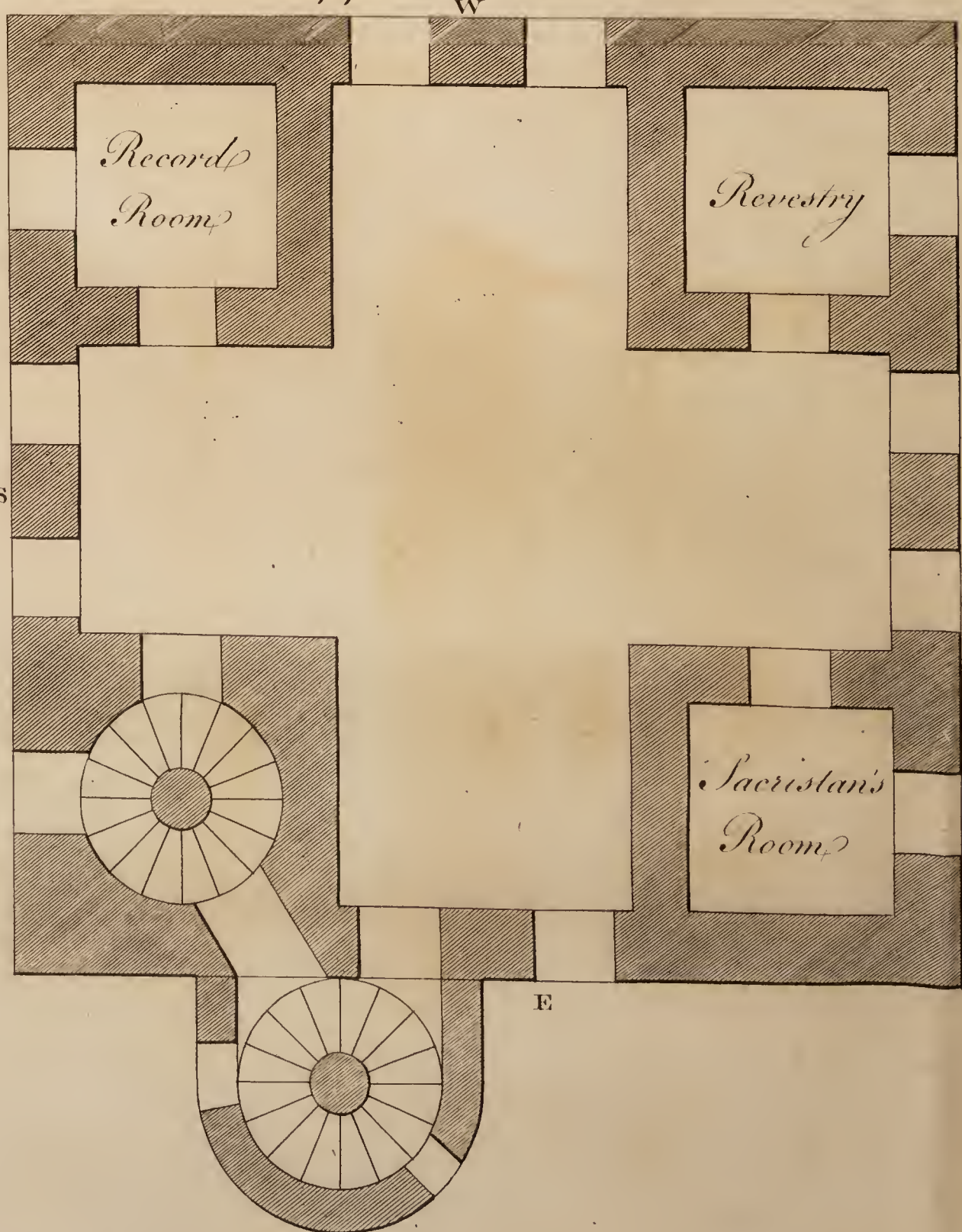


J. Stukely del.

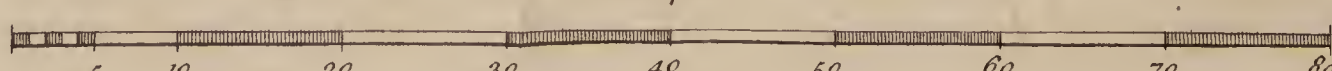
Lower Church.



Upper Church.



Scale of Feet.



J. Stukely del.



Danish King was observed to take the greatest notice of St. Edward's shrine, and admired the whole architecture and frame of it, which was probably then in high preservation.

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### X. *The* SANCTUARY at Westminster.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, October 30, 1755.

ON November 14, 1750, I went to survey the old church at Westminster, called The Sanctuary, which they were then pulling down, to make a new market-house. The building itself is as extraordinary in its kind, as that we have no clear account concerning it, in the history of Westminster abby, to which it manifestly belongs.

'Tis composed of two churches, one over another; each in the form of a cross. The lowermost may be called a double cross. The ground plot is a square of seventy five feet; 'tis somewhat like that very antient church, of Saxon work, north of Hereford cathedral, of which I took an exact drawing many years ago; one church over the other, as here. I think there is a good deal of analogy between them, tho' not exactly of the same sort of fabrick: Nor are we to be too strict in judging of the date of buildings from the manner of their work. The architects at Hereford kept more closely to the most antient British-Roman manner, which they had both from the Romans, before they left our island, and from the later Romans from Rome; when our Saxon ancestors, upon their first coming here, had well nigh ruined all antient Roman fabrics among us. But that the Britons, in Roman times, were great artists in building, and had numerous workmen, we have a signal proof; since about, the  
time



time of our Emperor Carausius, they were forced in Gaul, to send for masons into Britain, to rebuild their cities and public buildings, destroyed by the frequent irruptions of the Franks, and other German nations.

Our church at Westminster is of the later sort, which we may call Roman-Saxon, near that we commonly call Gothic; from whence I infer, 'tis later Saxon work, when there was and had been many years, perhaps, as now, too much intercourse between us and France; and when our builders began to conform to that later sort of architecture, with pointed arches.

How this later manner of pointed arches prevailed in Europe, over the former manner of semicircular arches, I cannot otherwise account for, but in supposing we had it from the Saracens, who had well-nigh conquered Spain; they brought it from Africa, originally from Arabia, and the southern parts of Asia, where it still subsists.

WHEN I have thought on the origin of architecture, I persuade myself, this Arabian manner, as we ought to call it, is the most antient of all, which the ingenious Greeks, as in every thing else, improved into the delicacy of what we call Greek and Roman architecture. The original of all arts is deduced from nature and assuredly the idea of this Arabian arch, and slender pillars, is taken from the groves sacred to religion, of which the great patriarch Abraham was the inventor. The present Westminster abby, and generally our cathedrals, the Temple church, and the like, present us with a true notion of those verdant cathedrals of antiquity; and which our Druids brought from the east into our own island, and practised before the Romans came hither.

HAVING prefaced thus much concerning that difficult topic, the origin of architecture, we come to the church in hand, The Sanctuary at Westminster. By whom it was founded, is not so easy to be said I am inclined to judge, it was built by Edward Confessor, when he built the first abby. The peculiar purpose of it, was to be the *asylum*, or Sanctuary, of those that fled to the cathedral,

cathedral for safety; nevertheless, I shall not be averse to think it much older.

THUS John Stow, First Edit. pag. 392. “ Edward III, about  
“ 1347, builded to the use of St. Stephen’s chapel (tho’ out of  
“ the palace court) some distance west, in the little Sanctuary, a  
“ chlochard (clochere) of stone and timber covered with lead; and  
“ placed therein three bells; about the biggest of which was  
“ written,

“ King Edward made me  
“ Thirty thousand and three.  
“ Take me down and wey me,  
“ And more shal ye find me.”

Thus Stow. And ’tis still called the Belfry.

Now, as to the testimony of Stow, we may affirm, that ’tis not to be understood of the whole building. For 16 April, 1751, I went to view a stone found there, as they were pulling down the work, thus fairly cut:

MCCCXXIII.

It was taken from within-side, in the north west angle, towards the floor of the lower church. This was at the end of the reign of Edward II.

I DON’T suppose any otherwise, than that it was the date of some reparation of that lower church. A real foundation stone, or consecration stone, is always affixed in a compartment over a door, or in a more conspicuous place. And as to the *Chlochard*, a French word for the belfry, built of stone and timber, covered with lead, according to Stow’s report, for the use of the Canons of St. Stephen; I apprehend, we cannot possibly understand the whole building: But that the King repairing it, covered it with lead, and built a tower upon the south-east corner, over the old stone stair-case, as a steeple, to contain the bells. This steeple, whether of stone and timber, or both, and covered with lead, has been long since demolished, and the bells carried away elsewhere.



It is manifestly the most absurd thing imaginable to call the whole building chloard, or belfry; tho' the church, being quite disused as a church, and the tower with the bells built upon the old stair-case, might improperly affix the name of belfry to it. But in general, the profound ignorance we are in, both as to name, consecration, and foundation of this edifice, seems to testify its high antiquity. And my friend, the Rev. Mr. Widmore, who has most diligently run over all the records of Westminster abby, finds no mention thereof.

WE are left, therefore, merely to conjecture, about this remarkable fabric. I can sooner believe it, to be older than Edward the Confessor, than later. I saw very plainly, that it was the very same kind of building, as to manner and materials, as the old Saxon palace, by Cotton-house; and in general, as the monastic buildings left of the adjacent abby.

THEY were a long time in demolishing it, with great labour and expence. It consisted mostly of rag-stone from Suffex: The mortar made of the same, burnt into lime. No rock could be harder. And sometimes they attempted to blow up parts of it with gun-powder. Three of the angles of the lower church are built solid, 16 feet square. In the upper church, square rooms were made over them; and seem to have been, as marked in the plan; one, a lodging room for the Sacristan, as was usual in the earliest times; another was the revestry.

I KNOW not whether the upper church was over-arched with stone, or covered flat with timber and lead; repaired by Edward III, when he built the bell-tower, which is the foundation of Stow's report.

THE little circular stair-case towards the east, and on the outside, by the principal entrance, was to carry people into the upper church, and made much later than the original structure, most probably by Edward III, when the greater staircase in the south-east angle was appropriated to the new tower, and the use of the bells. It contained seventeen steps in height: It is built of large stones quite

quite different from the rest of the work. The door of the lower church, or principal entrance of the fabric, was covered with plates of iron; I suppose to secure it from fire, and the violence of such as would attempt to carry off any person, who fled hither for sanctuary.

THE esplanade at top was paved with flat stones, when we viewed it; and had many tenements built upon it; which, no doubt, yielded good rents from the unhappy persons obliged to live there for life. Thus John Stow of the place: "The privilege of sanctuary was first granted by Sebert, King of the East Saxons; since encreased by Edgar King of the West Saxons; renewed and confirmed by Edward the Confessor."

Our author gives us his charter.

See the statute of H. VIII. 32d year.

ALL that we have to add, by way of reflexion on what is said, is this. Those writers are most certainly mistaken, who think we have no stone buildings here before the Conquest. I know of very many, and have drawings of them. Bede tells us expressly, that Benedict bishop of Northumberland, and his companion, the great S. Wilfrid of York, brought workmen from Rome, glaziers, painted glass, and artificers of all sorts. This was in the seventh Century.

S. WILFRID built many cathedrals, Alkmondbury, demolished: Ely, for S. Audry; the major part of it now remaining, turned into prebendal houses: Hexham and Rippon still remain. He built St. Leonard's priory by Stamford; the west part and front remains. He built St. Mary's church, Stamford. The tower of the steeple remains.

OLDER than this, is the neighbouring Tickencote, built by Peada, first Christian king of the Mercians; who likewise built Peterborough cathedral; the body whereof, of the antient structure, remains.

OLDER than all yet mentioned, is the cathedral of Southwell, built about A. D. 630, the whole remaining, except the choir. It was founded by the Northumbrian Apostle Paulinus; who like-



wife built many parish churches in Yorkshire. Some I have seen, and taken drawings of them; particularly, that at Godmundham, where is the original font, in which he baptized the heathen high-priest Coifi. He built Northallerton church, now remaining. His effigies is placed on the outside of it.

I COULD recite many great and entire churches in the West Saxon kingdom, as at the Devizes, Romsey, Stukeley in Bucks; Whitby; Northumberland; Wimborn minster, Dorsetshire; many more, but we need go no further than Rochester, and Waltham abby, indubitably older than the Conquest. St. Alban's church built by King Offa.

WM. STUKELY.

# *XI. Account of Lefnes Abby, by Dr. Stukeley.*

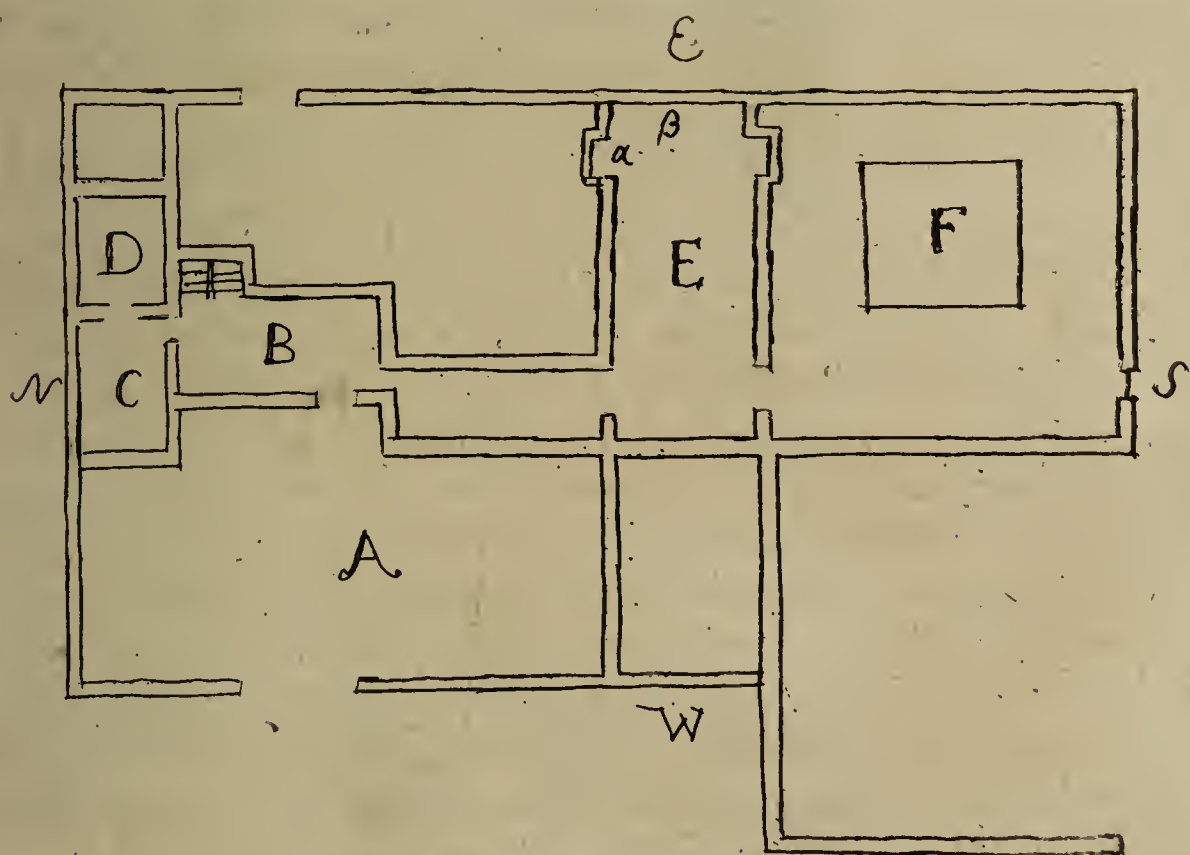
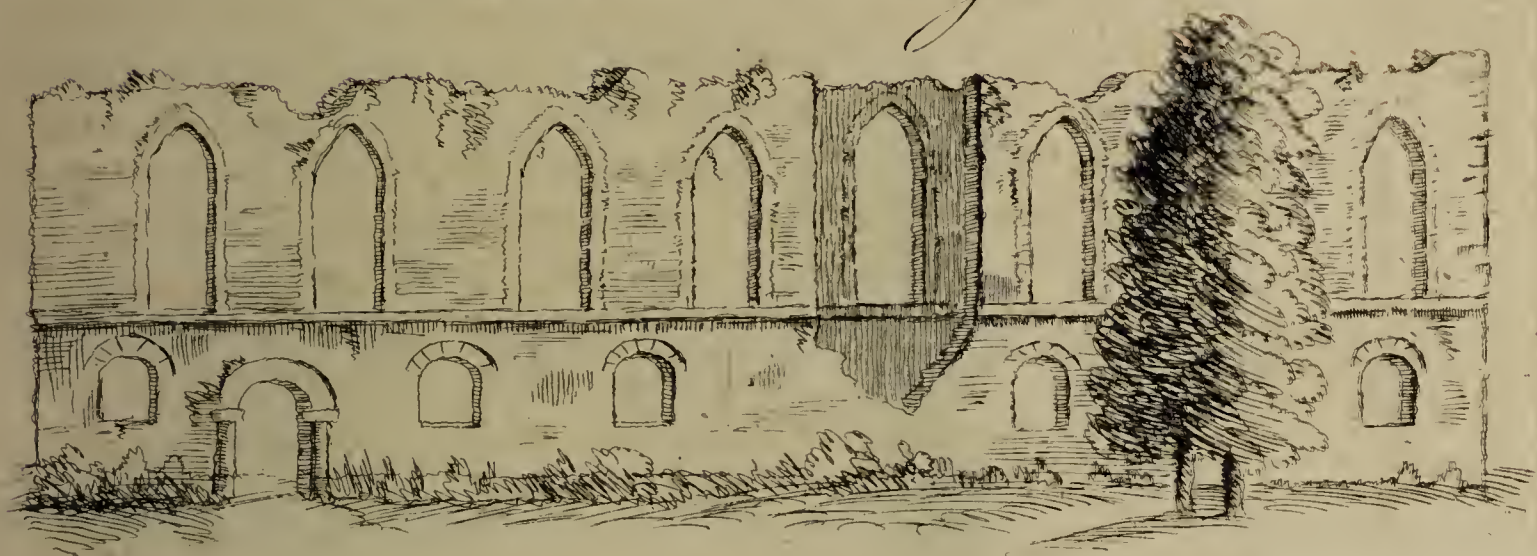
Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 12, 1753.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Hardwicke, Lord High Chancellor, &c. at Wimple.

**Y**ESTERDAY, I made a most agreeable journey, tho' it may be called a pilgrimage, to visit the venerable remains of Lefnes abby, at Earith in Kent, founded by Richard de Lucie, lord chancellor, and chief justice to Henry II. He was a near relation to your Lordship's neighbour, Lady ROISIA of Roiston. It was impossible that I should not think of giving your Lordship the subsequent account of my observations there, for an amusement, during your retirement from business and cares of state.

RICHARD DE LUCIE was chancellor, lord chief justice, and counsellor of state, to that great Monarch Henry II, the greatest, in my opinion, of those that have been since the Norman Conquest. In cap. VIII. of the second part of Lady ROISIA, I have given  
a sketch

# *Lesnes Abbey*



A The Court.  
B Hall.  
C Parlour.

D Kitchen.  
E Church.  
F Cloister.

a The Place of the Founder's Tomb,  
where is now a fine Bay Tree.  
b The high Altar.





a sketch of his just character. In 1167, Richard de Lucie entered upon his high offices to that Monarch, on the decease of Robert Beaumont, surnamed *Bossu*, earl of Leicester.

IN 1173, he was constituted lord protector of England, whilst the king was in Normandy, opposing the unjust violences of the King of France, and of his own son, young K. Henry, and others combined against him in a great and formidable league. Richard built the strong castle of Chippin Ongar in Essex, to hold for the king in those troublesome times. The King was fully satisfied of his great wisdom and fidelity. And Richard soon had an opportunity of adding the character of an hero to those of his other accomplishments.

THE young king had unnaturally joined the king of France, against his own father; and engaged the Earl of Boloign among others into the confederacy. He bribed him with the donation of the famous and rich soke of Kirkton, in my native country of Holland in Lincolnshire: It is more properly called Drayton-soke. It was the original estate and seat of the first Saxon Kings, and Earls of Mercia, and the origin of the potent kingdom of Mercia; and hence the name Mercians, Marshmen.

THE Earl of Boloign was to invade England, and join Robert, surnamed *Blanchmains*, Earl of Leicester, son of the preceding: And he brought 10,000 men over with him, to favour this rebellion.

RICHARD DE LUCIE took the field, and fought them all in a pitched battle at Farnham in Suffolk; totally routed and destroyed them. He sent the Earl of Leicester, and the other prisoners of note, to the King beyond sea. After this, he went, and subdued the rebellious party at Leicester, and subverted the walls of that city, which were of Roman structure.

IN 1174, he laid siege to the castle of Huntingdon, held against the King, by the Scottish King's brother David. In a word, he saved the realm from ruin, 'till King Henry returned.

IN 1176, he projected the great affair of the assize of the realm; the appointment of the assizes, for the administration of justice; which



which is continued to this day. I have given an account of it in the second part of Lady ROISIA, pag. 92.

IN 1177, he was one of the witnesses to the award, or determination, made by our Monarch, between the King of Castile, and the King of Navarre; together with William de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, son to Lady ROISIA.

THE next year, he resigned all his great dignities and places into the King's hands. Sated with honour and human grandeur, he resolved to betake himself to the serene and mental pleasures of a religious life. Accordingly he retired to his seat and manor of Lesnes, in the parish of Earith in Kent. And on 11 June, St. Barnabas's day, he gave it with due solemnity for that purpose; and began the foundation of the church, and took upon himself the order and habit of religion, according to the Benedictin institution of Canons-regular.

THE situation of this place is extremely agreeable; a fine, dry, gravelly country, elevated, having a prospect over the Thames, into Essex. Much oak woods, with pasture, arable and commons intermixt, or open heaths. Underneath a vast extent of flat, dry marsh, very rich land, upon the Thames.

LESNES stands on a pretty prominence, half way down the hill, toward the marsh. Above is a very large and beautiful oak wood. The major part of the original house, or seat of the founder, is now left, being the present farm house. The religious buildings are towards the south; but very little remaining. There were two grand gate-ways into the first court; one to the west, another to the east; both not long since destroyed.

THE building of the mansion house is, according to the style of that time, very good: Stone below, timber stud-work above. A noble large hall with a curious roof of Chestnut. Near the upper end, a very old-fashioned stair-case of much timber, but grand. This leads up to the chambers and lodging rooms of the founder, and his successors, the priors. Beyond the hall is the parlour. On the right hand of it, the kitchen and offices.

SOUTH

SOUTH of the dwelling is the church, built of stone: Only the north wall remaining, and that ruinous; but enough to give one a just notion of the whole, in its original state. There were cloisters on the south side the church: The outward wall thereof only now remaining. There seems to have been a vault under the west end of the church: South of the cloisters was the refectory, or hall of the canons: The lodgings, kitchen, offices, and, I suppose, the sub-prior's apartment; only the outward inclosing walls remaining.

THE whole area of the church, cloisters and lodgings, &c. is now a kitchen garden. They told us they had dug up, from time time, the foundations of the buildings, with many coffins of stones, corps and monuments. A tomb-stone still remains on the east side, by the wall. These were of the canons, who were always buried along the cloisters. Doubtless, many fine brasses, and monuments of great persons buried in the church, are now no more.

MOST of the north side of the church is standing. In this his abby the great and good founder died, the year after he entered into religion; viz. on July 14, 1179: He was interred on the right side of the altar, in the choir. The industrious Weaver gives us the inscription on his monument page 336; and in page 777 tells us how in 1630 it was discovered, after having been long covered with rubbish and the ruins of the sacred structure, from the time of the dissolution. It was opened, and his venerable remains seen by many, by himself among the rest.

THE owner of the manor covering it up again, planted a bay tree upon it, now growing upon the spot; the finest by far which I ever saw: And on viewing it with pleasure, I could not but remember those verses in Psalm xcii. 12, 13.

“The righteous shall flourish as a palm-tree: He shall grow  
“like a cedar in Lebanon.

“Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish  
“in the courts of our God.”

WEAVER says, many other monumental effigies, tombs, and inscriptions were found. For undoubtedly many great personages  
were



were here interred, during the several centuries of the continuance of this abbey; particularly the founder's descendants, relations, friends, and many great families of the neighbourhood.

GODEREY DE LUCIE, his only son, finit by his father's example, went into orders, and was bishop of Winchester: He was buried here in 1204. He was a great benefactor of the house. His epitaph is in Weaver, page 337.

RICHARD DE LUCIE's eldest daughter Maud was married to Robert Fitzwalter, whose daughter Christiana was wife to Lady ROISIA's son, William de Magnaville, Earl of Essex above mentioned. This son was equally a favourite with his mother, and with K. Henry II. His effigies she has rudely cut among the rest of her family, in her monumental Chapel at Roiston, in the chalk rock under ground. 'Tis that marked (5) in my Third Plate.

RICHARD DE LUCIE's third daughter was Roisia, named, no doubt, from our Lady ROISIA, most probably her godmother, She becoming a ward of K. John's, was married to Richard de Warren, the King's son. She had a cousin Roisia, married to Fulbert de Dover, lord of Chilham castle in Kent. All which, or many of these families probably were buried in this church.

THIS is one of those abbeys, that happened to become a prelude to the fatal dissolution, so terrible a stroke to our history and antiquities. It was granted, with others, to cardinal Wolsey.

ALL the reflexion we need to add, to what has been said on our excellent founder, is this. Religion fails not, first or last, to make an impression on truly great minds. It was then the fashion and method of shewing it, to build these religious places, and largely endow them. And this was dedicated to Becket, as was the fashion of that time; and a kind of compliment to the King.

YOUR Lordship has shewn true judgment in re-building your parochial church at Wimble; a thing more beneficial to the commonwealth and mankind.

WM. STUKELEY.

XI. *On the first Peopling of this Island. Written by the Reverend Dr. Haviland, Rector of North Pederwin in Cornwall, 1755.*

**A**LTHOUGH this island must have been peopled from the adjacent continent, yet I think it must have been first inhabited by the posterity of some of the other sons of Japhet (although by which of them no one can at present presume to determine), and not by any of the descendants of Gomer, by what name soever called; and there seems to be good authority to support this opinion.

PEZRON was fixed to a favourite hypothesis, and his principal intention was, to give a plausible account of Gomer and his family, and to trace out their several migrations into Europe, which he was to support by the best evidence he could get, and in which he spared no pains. Yet, after all, they are precarious and inconclusive, being chiefly collected from history remarkably fabulous. Hence he took no notice of any of the other sons of Japhet, nor concerned himself, when they were dispersed, or where they were settled. If he had, he must have discovered, that Javan and Tubal, and perhaps Tiras, with their families, had taken possession of the southern parts of Europe, and the isles of the sea; and continued their migrations farther westward long before any of Gomer's posterity could have come into it. This discovery would have been founded on much stronger reasons than any which he hath given for the original peopling of Europe by the Gomerians.

THE holy Scripture affords sufficient evidence to shew, that Javan was the first possessor of Greece, and Tubal of Italy. It is very usual in those writings to give the name of the Patriarch to the country which he planted. Instances are numerous, and thus, in particular, Greece is known by the name of Javan, and



Italy of Tubal. If those Patriarchs had not themselves conducted their families into those countries, it is not probable that they would have had their names. Not only the country, but inhabitants likewise of Greece, were known by the name of Javan: They were called Iaones (the radical letters of Javan) contracted afterwards into Iones. His son Elisha is supposed, from the affinity of the word, to have given his name to Elis, in his settlement in Peloponnesus. And from thence it is very probable that he peopled the isles of the sea, in the proper sense of the word; the islands of the Archipelago, being called in Scripture the isles of Elisha, and perhaps the whole Peloponnesus.

THOUGH the sacred history is silent as to the settlement of Tiras in Europe; yet the affinity of the name hath placed it in Thrace, with as good a reason as any of the settlements of the Gomerian branch. We hear of him no where else; and as he was the younger brother, must take what the others left him. The authors of the Universal History have raised a strong objection against what hath been said, and have declared it monstrously absurd to imagine that these patriarchs could get over the sea into Europe with their numerous retinue, so long before navigation, even by coasting, was known.

THE authority of Scripture is, I think, a full answer to this objection, wherein it is expressly mentioned, that by the sons of Japhet the isles of the sea were divided. But how can these things be? is the old question of infidels, who, because they cannot answer it, arrogantly affirm, that these things could not be. To give a proper weight to their objection, they should have given some reasonable proof of the truth of their assertion, and have ascertained the time when, the place where, and on what occasion, navigation was first attempted. But it is wild and extravagant to contradict the authority of Scripture, by an unwarrantable presumption, that since there could be no other way for Javan and his brethren to get into Europe, but by crossing the Hellespont, it was impossible for him to take that way, because he had not, nor could have, proper means for this purpose.

ON the other hand, if the Scripture permits me to maintain the contrary assertion, and supplies me with reasons to defend and support it, I may be indulged in a liberty of taking it, and affirm, that Javan and his brethren, with their families, did cross the streights into Europe, and that they were furnished with means effectual for making their attempt successful.

I IMAGINE that it may be laid down as a rule, that, in these first migrations of the Patriarchs for replenishing the earth, the fathers, or the heads of the family, remained in their primary situation, and detached off their sons to their respective settlements, when they were increased to a competent number for that purpose, who in their turn took the same method, and removed their posterity to a distant country.

After the general dispersion at Babel, Japhet with all his descendants is supposed to have settled in the lesser Asia; a small allotment for so numerous a family as his was expected to become, from the promise of God made to him by his Father Noah, of the great enlargement of it. Hence, whilst himself remained in this situation, he sent his sons to take possession of, and people the several countries appointed them for their respective habitations. Four of them dispersed themselves eastward in Asia, through Cappadocia, &c. along the Euxine and Caspian seas, and in time extended themselves much farther. The progress of the other three was stopped by the sea, and Hellespontic streights, by which they were hemmed in on the one side, and by their father and brethren on the other sides. It is not unreasonable, in these circumstances of their situation, to suppose, that their father Japhet should prompt and encourage them, and perhaps lay his fatherly commands upon them, to attempt a passage cross these straits, either at the Hellespont or Bosphorus; that he should give them proper advice, instructions and directions which he must have been capable of doing, for making the undertaking feasible and successful. On this occasion, Japhet must have remembered the assurance given to him by Noah, that God would *enlarge*, or as, it is translated in the margin, *persuade* Japhet, that



is, as the word is capable of two significations, if we take it in both, that God, by the influence of his Spirit upon the mind of Japhet, would persuade him to carry on the enlargement and increase of his family, and to use all the proper means for that purpose, and particularly prompt him to this attempt, as the most effectual for fulfilling the promise.

JAPHET had himself worked in the building of the ark; he knew the manner of its construction, and the design of it, and found by experience that it answered the end for which it was built. He could therefore, and probably did, put his sons in a method of making boats, or vessels, of a like nature, which would be necessary for conveying them and their families across a narrow channel of the sea.

BUT perhaps, after all that hath been said, the invention of boats, or such like floating vessels, convenient for a secure passage over great and deep rivers, must be traced up higher; for the several material circumstances which attended the forwarding the general dispersion, seem necessarily to require them. Babel was situated in the plains of Shinaar, between the Euphrates and Tigris, very wide and deep rivers. It was impossible for so many people, at the dispersion, to cross those rivers without some such machines to convey them over. It cannot be conceived that they built bridges for that purpose, being a work more difficult to be done than the making of boats. If Javan then was at Babel on the dispersion, he must have seen and used such vessels long before he came to the Hellespont; which if he found to be broader than the Euphrates, and might imagine, more difficult to be crossed, or more dangerous, he might overcome these obstacles by making his boats larger and stronger. Misraim is supposed to have taken possession of Egypt soon after the dispersion, and must have had such like conveniencies for passing over the Nile, as they had used before at the Euphrates.

IF then, for these reasons, I should say, that these Patriarchs, with their numerous retinue, were thus conveyed into Europe, designed by God to be the lot of their inheritance; where is the absurdity alledged from the impossibility of the fact?

THOSE

THOSE who have made the closest search into antient history, for the discovery of the origin of useful arts and inventions, have not succeeded in the most remarkable; and have been puzzled in determining the necessary circumstances of time, place, persons, and the end requisite for the fixing the era of navigation, and building vessels proper for that purpose. Perhaps, what hath been said may, in some measure, supply the omission of the history of this invention; at least give more light to this obscure point than can be had any where else. For what period of time can be assigned more proper for it, than whilst Noah's sons were alive, who worked in the building of the Ark, and could give their sons directions for making something like it, and to be equally boyant on the water? Can any point of that period be better fixed, than that of Javan's and his brethren passing over the Hellespont into Europe, when there was an absolute necessity for such vessels?

MUST not Javan, and his son Elisba in particular, have afterwards used the same means in peopling the isles of the sea, literally taken, which were in sight of one another, as the isles of the Archipelago all are? Certainly the accomplishment of God's promise of his enlargement of Japhet, and promoting his great design, by the general dispersion at Babel for the speedy re-peopling the earth, was a matter of much greater importance than any benefit of commerce could at any time afterwards have been.

IF what hath been mentioned is sufficient to confute the imaginary impossibility of Javan and his brethren's passage into Europe, there was time enough for their descendants to continue their progress, and supply with inhabitants the farthermost parts of it, France and Spain.

I SUPPOSE, that when these three brethren were safely landed on the European shore, they separated, and took different routs, to preserve their patriarchal authority over their respective families, which would otherwise have interfered; and they were all under their father Japhet's before they left Asia. At this separation, Javan doubtless went into Greece, with his descendants, along the sea coast;



coast; and if Tubal and his posterity were the planters of Italy, their way thither was through the north parts of Greece; which having peopled, might by degrees come into Italy, whilst Tiras took the country directly north from the Hellespont for his share in the division, and inhabited Thrace, and dispersed his progeny, as they increased, still farther.

If there is any foundation in the reason of the thing, for what I have here advanced, and if Javan and his brethren came into Europe, as hath been with some probability shewed, there must have been a period of some hundreds of years, from the time of Javan's coming into Europe, and the first introduction of the Gomerians, even by Pezron's own account; a period sufficient for supplying the western parts of Europe with inhabitants. The Gomerians continued a long time in Asia along and beyond the Euxine sea, and in the inland countries, far to the south, under different names, some of their own taking, and others as nicknames imposed upon them by their neighbours, before their migration into Europe. During this great period, the three Patriarchs before mentioned had time to people the greatest and most western countries of this part of the world, notwithstanding the many objections they must necessarily meet with, which, though they might stop their progress, yet did not hinder their increasing, whereby they moved forward in more numerous bodies, when those difficulties were removed.

If Tubal then was the first possessor and planter of Italy, that is the nearest place which I can find to fetch our original inhabitants, and the most likely to have supplied us. Perhaps the nighest part of that country, lying between us and Italy, might have been stocked with people almost as soon as Italy itself. For if Tubal should have remained for some time in the skirts of Italy along the banks of the Po, and the Milanese, untill the usual causes of removing farther, should compel him; and that then finding his company numerous enough for a division, he may have detached one body of them towards France, and the other into the heart of Italy. By this means southern France might have been peopled as soon

as the furthestmost parts of Italy. I was willing to bring them into these western countries, which, being very large, require a longer time for their being inhabited, as soon as I could with reasonable probability.

If then Javan and his brethren, with their families, came into Europe at the time, and in the manner, which hath been represented, there was a period of above 400 year, at the least, between this and the beginning of the Gomerians migration; a period sufficient for stocking all the southern and western parts of Europe with inhabitants.

To what hath been said must be added, that the migration of the Gomerians into Europe is not related as planting of colonies, and furnishing them with inhabitants, but as a warlike expedition, as an invasion and irruption. And they are represented as conquerors, subduing and driving the former inhabitants out of their possessions, or where there was room enough incorporating with them, and, as is always usual with conquerors, compelling them to observe their laws and customs; to learn and speak their language, and take their name.

THIS seems to me to be the case of this island, and the neighbouring continent. They were invaded and subdued, and obliged to take the names of their conquerors, and to quit the original name of their family, which, being by the silence of History wholly lost, was absorbed in the appellation of Celts, Gauls Gomerians, &c. who, having gotten possession of the country, afterwards assumed the claim to be the aborigines of it; whilst those who were really so, might be induced to resign willingly their pretensions to it, and to change their names, out of a vanity, either of being thought the descendants of the eldest branch of Noah's eldest son, rather than a younger; or else, from imagining the appellation of a conquering, more honourable than of a vanquished, nation.



XII. *Part of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, Esq; to Mr. Gale; concerning the old Roman Roads.*

DR. Stukely, in his seventh Iter, speaking of a hill a little above Ambrosbury, says, “ The Icening-street runs between this hill and the Bourn river coming from Newbury, as I suppose, through Chute forest, where, vulgarly called Chute Causeway, at Lurgishall, it makes a fine terras-walk, in the garden of Sir Philip Meadows; then passes the Bourn River about Tidworth, and, so by this place, to the eastern gate of old Sarum, the Roman Sorbiadunum.”

’Tis probable the Dr. met with wrong information in this neighbourhood, since he could hardly have fallen into the mistakes, evident in the foregoing passage, had he viewed the situation of this part of the country.

For first, as to the Icening-street coming from Newbury to Old Sarum, which he has likewise expressed in his map, I take it to be entirely a mistake. I have examined a great part of the intermediate country myself, and likewise enquired of many sensible persons perfectly acquainted with it; and could never see or hear of any bank or causeway, in the least resembling a Roman road, which went between them; and, as there is no journey in the Itinerary between Ad Spinas and Sorbiadunum, there is, I think, the less reason to expect one. However, had such a road ever existed, it must have made a very extraordinary and useless angle westward, to have crossed the river at Tidworth, and proceeded thence to old Sarum; since the road now in use, either through or near Andover, is a much straighter line: Had such a road gone through Sir Philip Meadows’ garden, it must have gone from N. E. to S. W. whereas the road, which really goes there, is in a straight direction from N. W. to S. E. and is indeed part of a quite different road, as I shall presently shew you.

To

To pass over the Doctor's placing Sir Philip Meadows' gardens at Lurgishall (which are at Conault in Chute parish, at least three miles to the N. E. of it) and his supposing the Roman road from thence, to be that which enters the east gate of Sarum, I shall hasten to give you the course of two Roman Roads which cross this country, and intersect and another; the one from Silchester to old Sarum, the other from Marlborough to Winchester, as they have lately been transmitted to me by an intelligent person, who has made those enquiries his business for some years, and assures me he has travelled every step of them himself.

THE first of these has not been unobserved by Camden, or Stukely, or the *Britannia Romana*: but none of them informs us of its course. The Doctor conjectures it passes through Andover, but in that is likewise mistaken.

THIS road from Silchester goes by Tadley to Baghurst, leaves Woolverton a quarter of a mile to the north, ascends the chalk hills by Hannington church, passes Fremantle park, and to the south of Litchfield, i. e. the field of carcases[o] (says Camden), which interpretation is confirmed by seven remarkable burrows, near the place; whether Roman or not, I do not pretend to determine. From hence it passes Egbury Castle, a very large entrenchment, probably a *Castellum* or *Manfio* upon the road; goes next to St. Mary Bourne to Finkley, a house built upon it by Easton town farm, between Andover and Charleton, leaving the former a little to the north; it goes next to a place called the Hundred Acres corner, by Gallows hill, where formerly stood a gibbet; through Monkston, Tharston, and Amport, three villages upon it; then between Grately and Quarley, to the South side of Quarley Hill, on the top of which is a large entrenchment, and here, having run too much west, for the sake of keeping the bottoms, and avoiding the sudden steep hills,

[o] "Ap. Bedam *Licidfield* dicitur, et exponitur *Campus cadaverum*, quia multi hic sub Diocletiano martyrium passi sunt; ab A. S. *Lice*, *cadaver*. Somnero "autem exponitur *Campus irriguus*, a verbo *Liccian*, *lambere*; quia ab alluente fluvio lambitur." Skinn.



which are frequent in this part of the downs, it makes a turn to the south about one point of the compass, and there crossing the river at Portown, or Porton, it goes in a line to the east-gate of Old Sarum.

THE other road, going from Marlborough to Winchester, has, I think, hitherto escaped the notice of Antiquaries as to the terminations; nor do I remember to have seen any part of it mentioned, except that in Sir Philip Meadows' garden, and a small hint in the bishop of London's Additions to Camden, in the following words, "At Efcourt (not far from a great causeway, supposed to be a Roman vicinal way) a large earthen vessel was dug up in the year 1693, in which were two other; one of them full of ashes or bones." This road, going from Marlborough, leaves the great chalky way, which is the turnpike road, and runs up the green hill to the corner of an hedge a little above Minall church; crosses the field within that hedge diagonally; crosses two more fields; then through the corner of Leavy coppice, crosses an arable ground into Severnake forest; then runs directly down a hill, through Ashlet coppice, crosses the valley about three furlongs on the S. W. of Mr. Beacher's lodge; through Birken grove to Tokenham park; through Lord Bruce's gardens, down the hill to Croaton mill, leaving Great Bedwin about one mile and a half to the N. E. goes along the side of a hill to the N. E. side of Wilton; to the Nag's-head, through Marton-street, to Oxenwood-gate; having hitherto kept a straight course to the S. E. but here, to avoid a deep and almost impassable valley called Hippen's-court bottom, the Roman surveyor thought proper to make the road take a compass to the S. W. and S. up Titcomb hill, by Scot's poor, over Chute Heath to some brick kilns; and then to Sir Philip Meadows' park, at the entrance of which it re-assumes its S. E. direction, and for some way makes a delightful walk, planted on both sides, and being uncovered, appears to have been made of fine gravel, though none such is near this place. From this park it descends to a bottom; then up a hill, leaving Tangley church a furlong to the S. W. near which it passes through an entrenchment of about two acres and a half, with deep ditches, probably

probably a Castellum or Manfio for the sake of travellers, and conveniently situated, being about midway, i. e. fourteen miles, from each station; from hence it goes through Hetherden directly out into Charlton Common, lately inclosed, along by Easton Town Farm, where, a little beyond the gate that turns to the house, it crosses the road I have before described, between Silcester and Old Sarum; from thence, through a common field, it goes three quarters of a mile N. E. of Andover, out into the Downs; then into Wherewell woods, through which it is a bridle way; after which half a mile to a ford, crosses the river Tees or Test, called Cold Harbour, and from thence for seven miles straight crosses the Downs to Winchester, entering it at the North-gate. This road is some places seven foot above the surface, and of a good breadth.

AND now, Sir, I fear I have tired your patience more than if you had rode the ways I have been describing; but, as I think matters of this nature are frequently not understood for want of being particular, words, at best, giving but a faint idea, I hope you will excuse whatever may seem tedious.

THIS road seems the more worthy notice, as it puts it beyond dispute, that Marlborough, and not West-Kennet, was the Cunelio of Antoninus. Whether its vicinity to great Bedwin, but yet not going through it, is an argument for or against Dr. Stukely's conjecture of that place being the Leucomagus of Ravennas, I submit to better judgment.

And am, &c.



XIII. *Part of a Letter from Browne Willis, Esq;*  
*relating to the same.*

I Beg the gentlemen of the Society, and Dr. Stukely in particular, would observe the Diverticulum Mr. Taylor has shewn, in his map or accurate survey of Hampshire, of the Ikeneld-street, running from the north east corner of Sir Philip Meadows' park, to a little house to the S. W. called Scots Poor. This Diverticulum is called Chute-causeway. Then note what the Dr. says of Chute-causeway, (Itin. Curios. pag. 175.) and they will perceive this is the Ikeneld-street continued from Winchester; consequently that it does not come from Newbury, as the Doctor says, he supposes: He also says, this is Chute-forest, though vulgarly called Chute-causeway. In this I affirmed he was mistaken, imagining this to be Chute-forest, that Mr. Camden said a causeway ran into, westward from Silchester; but, that that was called the Portway[p] which Mr. Taylor's map confirms: That Andover parish, was in Camden's time part of Chute-forest, I shall shew hereafter; and that no part of the said forest was ever north of the village called Chute, Chute-forest as described in this map will shew.

I FURTHER appeal to all gentlemen of Antiquarian taste in these parts, whether any Roman causeway was ever from Newbury to Chute-causeway; and would also enquire, if any between Goring and Newbury, and whether this causeway from Scots Poor runs to Old Sarum, which, I think, I can deny, as I do affirm that it proceeds hence, to crossing the Kennet River to the east of Marlborough; divides into a vicinal way from Badbury Camp near Wanborough; thence, by Mr. Wise's account, it passes on by the White-horse hill, and Wantage to Goring, and is Dr. Plot's Ikeneld-street; thence to Royston or Barley. But from Wanborough the great Ikeneld-street, one of the four Basilical ways, runs, as I affirm it from my own Inspection into Warwickshire, through which county I leave the proof of it to Mr. Beighton's actual survey of that county.

Andover, December 24, 1759.

B. W.

[p] Another principal road crossing the Ikeneld-street near Andover.

XIV. *Some Account of the Course of the Erming-street through Northamptonshire, and of a Roman burying Place by the Side of it in the Parish of Barnack.*  
By Charles Frederick, Esq; (now Sir Charles, Bart.)

THE great Roman road called the Erming-street, which stretches itself from London into the west of England, having gone through Huntingdonshire, crossed the river Nen, and passed Caſter (the Durobrivæ of Antoninus), from thence pushes directly to Stamford about five miles distant from Caſter.

IN something more than half-way betwixt these two towns, it passes through the parish of Barnack in Northamptonshire, where the ground on each side of the road has been opened a large space to dig for stone; and these pits from a small Hamlet in this parish, are called Southrope pits.

IN those of the west side of the road many Roman coins and antiquities have been found.

FROM which remains it is evident that this was a considerable burying place during the government of the Romans in this island; and that this was not the sepulchre of any one family, or party of men, slain at one time near this place, is evident from the vast quantity of cinders and fragments of urns found there; and still more so, from the coins of such different ages, as those of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Claudius Gothicus, Magnentius and Constantinus Magnus, which affords reasons to believe it continued for a long time a public burying place.

THAT it was the custom of the Romans to bury their dead without their towns or cities, and most usually by the sides of their highways, is a fact known to every one who is the least conversant in their antiquities; but the distance of this burying-place from any  
known;



known Roman station, seems indeed a little extraordinary, it being at least three miles from Durobrivæ, which is generally thought to have been at or near the present village called Caster, and more from Brig Casterton, where some have placed Canfennis, though others carry that station to a still greater distance.

AFTER passing these pits, the Erming-street enters a small paddock belonging to Thomas Noel, Esq; at Walcote, and runs just within the wall; and upon its leaving the paddock enters a large common field, where it takes a remarkable circular sweep, merely to comply with a natural ridge of the ground which runs in that form, though the ground on either side is equally dry: It makes here for about half a mile a delightful walk covered with turf, and is called the Forty-foot-way.

FROM thence it enters Lord Exeter's Park at Burleigh, and through that going down to St. Martin's, crosses the Welland, and there enters Lincolnshire.

*XV. Part of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Percival,  
dated Royston, July 8, 1760, relating to the same.*

REVEREND SIR,

I HAVE traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the Condate of the Romans was Kinderton in Cheshire; the road is visible almost all the way, and the camp yet visible at Kinderton where the Dane and Weaver join: There is a Roman way from thence to Chester, another to Chesterton near Newcastle Underline, and another by Nantwich and Whitchurch to Wroxeter.

MR. WATSON and myself have traced the Roman way from Manchester into Yorkshire, and find the road goes directly to Kirklees, and this, or rather Clifton, must be the Cambodunum  
of

of the antients ; the Roman camp is between Clifton and Kirklees, but I suppose the town to have been at Clifton ; and by placing the “ Ad fines inter Maximam et Flaviam ” at Castlethaw in Sadleworth, where there is a camp of large size and many other proofs of a station, and this is only transposing it from standing before Mancunium, to stand after it in the VIth Iter of Richard the Monk, published by Dr. Stukely ; the whole Iter is exact and the places well ascertained. So that this corrected should be thus,

Eboracum IX.	<i>York.</i>
Calcaria XXII.	<i>Tadcaster.</i>
Cambodunum XVIII.	<i>Kirklees, or Clifton Camp.</i>
Ad fines inter Maximam et Flaviam, XVIII.	} <i>Castlethaw.</i>
Mancunium XVIII.	
Condate XVIII.	<i>Manchester.</i>
	<i>Kinderton.</i>
Deva . . .	<i>Chester</i>

THE Coccium of the Romans, standing both in Antonine and in Richard's Iter at XVIII miles distance from Manchester, shews plainly it cannot be Ribchester ; now by tracing the Roman way, which has been done by Mr. Watson and myself from Manchester ; exactly at XVIII Roman miles from Manchester is a station at Blackrode within a mile or two of Lord Willoughby's house, where urns, coins, hinges, horse-shoes, iron utensils are said by the country people to have been found ; and a middle sized fort is yet to be seen, though, from the short view I had of it, I suspect that fort only covers one angle of the city, and the city to be much larger ; but I had not then time to trace out the whole. It is to me however very clear, this is the Coccium so long lost, and that the course of the Iter proceeds along the Roman road, yet visible, to Penwortham, Gerstang, and so by Lancaster to Overburrow, and that there is a slip out of three stations ; and it is plain there is a visible confusion in both Iters here, which I take to be owing to another Iter's being lost, which went from Kinderton to Warrington, Wigan, Penwortham, Garestang, Lancaster, and



so perhaps along the sea coast, there being a Roman road this way from Kinderton to Penwortham, where it joins the road of the Iter of Antonine, and proceeds together to Lancaster where they again part, one Roman way going to Overburrow; another to Kirkby, Kendal or Watercrock, and another along the Sands. I do not mean over the Sands was ever mended by the Romans, but there are traces of Roman ways on each side of the Sands.

RICHARD'S VIIth Iter, I would place thus, a Roman road yet visible going the whole way :

Portus Sittuntiorum XXIII.	{ <i>Bargerode</i> near Poolton the mouth of the Wire.
Renigonium VIII.	<i>Ribchester.</i>
Alpes Pennini x.	<i>Pendle-Hill.</i>
Alicana XIX.	<i>Ickly.</i>
Ifurium Brigantium XVI.	<i>Aldborough.</i>
Eboracum . . .	<i>York.</i>

I SHOULD have mentioned there is a Roman road betwixt Manchester and Ribchester, but this is twenty computed miles; and at eighteen Roman miles from Manchester, I have searched all about the road for a station without finding one or within several miles on each side. And indeed the road goes over a county too mountainous for an elegant Roman to chuse to live in. I am, however, well convinced, no station will be found between that at Bury, about ten Roman miles from Manchester, though out of the tract of this road about a mile; and Blackburn sixteen computed miles from Manchester. I guess there is a station at Blackburn, several coins having been found there, but I have not had opportunity to examine it; nor do I know now exactly how the road goes here, though, from what I have seen of it, I am sure, it goes very near, if not through Blackburn to Ribchester; but I hope ere long to be able to give a more accurate and larger account of these roads.

## XVI.

To the Right Honourable the Lord WILLOUGHBY OF PARHAM.

MY LORD,

**H**A V I N G (as I think) discovered the true situation of Coccium, a Roman station, concerning which writers have been considerably divided; I take the liberty to trouble your Lordship with this Letter, which I request may be read before the Society of Antiquaries, that, from the remarks of that learned body, I may be better enabled to pursue my enquiries on this subject.

THIS Station then is only mentioned in Antonine, and Richard the Monk; the former of which, according to the edition of Surita, makes it to be xvii Italian miles from Mancunium, allowed on all hands to be Manchester. But the editions of Aldus Manutius, Simler, and the copy which is printed in Harrison's Description of England, have xviii mille passus, with which agrees the Monk, at page 38 of his Geographical Commentary, printed in 1757, by Charles Julius Bertram, professor of the English tongue in the marine academy of Copenhagen. As this however is the only difference to be met with, the distance of Coccium from one known station is sufficiently determined; and as this distance is so small, being only a day's march, we may venture to conclude, that it was the next station from Manchester, in some direction or other. Now from Antonine we learn, that it lay between Mancunium and Bremetonace, which last place has been indisputably proved by the late Mr. Rauthmell, to be Overburrow, in the north of Lancashire. Let us enquire then where Antiquaries have endeavoured to fix it.

IN the copy of Antonine printed at Amsterdam in 1735, at the word Coccio, is the following note by Wesselingius, "Nec

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K

" ullum



“ ullum de hac diffidium : Ribchester enim nostro tempore dici, et  
 “ plures Romanae superstitionis indidem effodi reliquias passim ag-  
 “ noscitur.” Of this opinion was Burton, in his Commentary on  
 Antonine, page 242. His reason for placing Coccium at Ribchester,  
 seems chiefly to arise from the many tokens of Antiquity, men-  
 tioned by Camden to have been found there; and he fancies that  
 the Coccium of Antonine may be the same as the *Ῥυδών* of  
 Ptolemy, and that it might have antiently changed its appellation.

GALE, in his Commentary, page 119, has also chosen Ribchester  
 for this station, making it XXII mille passus from Bremetonacis,  
 though the Iter says only XX. His reason for pitching on this  
 particular place, is because *Côch* and *Gôch* signify Red in the British  
 tongue; the remains of which words he thought might still be  
 traced in the name of the river there, called Ribble; but why  
 it should have this appellation, he could not say, unless from the  
 colour of its sands, or from the Roach and Salmon which it abounds  
 with.

DR. LEGH, in his Natural History of Lancashire, Book III, has  
 a different reason for thinking Ribchester to be the antient Coccium;  
 for he imagines it to have its name from Cocceius Nerva, produc-  
 ing an inscription found there, to confirm his opinion; the six  
 last letters of which being, I. T. C. C. N. N. he reads, “ Impera-  
 “ tori Triumphanti Caesari Cocceio Nervae;” but it is far from  
 clear, that the Dr. has hit upon the right reading; for it is not likely  
 that N. N. should stand for Nervae. In fact (as Mr. Horsley has  
 observed, page 303) the letters seem to be in confusion; and as it is  
 doubtful that we have no true copy of this inscription, which is  
 now lost, no argument can fairly be drawn from it to prove what  
 was the Roman name of the town of Ribchester.

CAMDEN, in the edition of his Britannia, printed in 1586, has  
 given us an Inscription, found at or near this place, ending in the  
 same manner as this; but sees no reason to conclude from thence,  
 that this was Coccium. His words are, pag. 431, “ Ex his nihil  
 “ plane luminis, ad priscum hujus loci nomen eruendum, de quo  
 “ ambi-

“ ambigitur, nisi subinde nomen mutârit, quod nonnunquam usu venit;” adding that Ptolemy has placed Rigodunum here, and Antonine, Bremetonacum.

MR. HORSLEY, at pag. 302 of his *Britannia Romana*, has told us, that Ribchester, by the distance and course of the stations, seems to be Coccium in the Itinerary; yet it is remarkable that at pag. 455 of the same Book, he says, the distance between Ribchester and Manchester is certainly too great for the xvii miles in the Itinerary, between Coccium and Mancunium, adding that it is twenty computed miles from Ribchester to Manchester; these, he thinks, answer to xxvii in the Itinerary; if therefore we add a single x to the present numerals, he supposes that it will set us right as to the distance. Dissatisfied however with his own method of settling this difficulty, when he considered the good agreement in this Iter, between the sum total and the particulars, he rather chose to rank this among the original errors, thus leaving the argument in a great measure where he found it.

THESE are the most considerable writers who have endeavoured to prove, that Ribchester was the Coccium of the Romans; and these the arguments that have inclined them to be of this opinion. From the whole it may be observed, that there is nothing advanced by any of them which proves the point; on the contrary, they have erred in not taking notice of the only rule which was given them to find it by; namely, that it was xvii, or at the most, xviii mille passus from Mancunium, and have carried it to near double the distance from this last mentioned place that they ought to have done; for the twenty computed miles, which Mr. Horsley says there are, between Manchester and Ribchester, according to the general run of miles in the county of Lancaster, will measure, not as he supposes, xxvii Italian, but xxx English miles, which, according to Mr. Horsley's own method of fixing the Ratio between the Roman and English road miles, will be more than xxxii Italian ones, which is a difference that can by no means be allowed; and what makes it probable, as there is room for a station



between Manchester and Ribchester, that the true situation of Coccium has been overlooked, and fixed at this latter place, because no visible remains of a station have hitherto been publicly known, which answered better to the distance.

BUT, greatly as the above may seem to differ from the Itineraries, Mr. Baxter has ventured to differ still more, in his Glossary, at the word COCCIVM, for he has fixed this station at Adel Mill in Yorkshire; because, near Adel, which was a Roman station, there is a place called Cookridge, which he supposed was so called, as being "Dorsum Coccianum." But a definition of this sort, however ingenious, can weigh nothing, when it is considered, that from Manchester to Adel is more than XL measured miles. I therefore pass by this opinion, and proceed to consider the notion, that Cockly Chapel, near Bury in Lancashire, was the antient Coccium. This seems to have been first asserted by Camden, who was led thereto, I suppose, from the singularity of the name, and the pointing of a Roman road that way from Manchester; and especially as this was the only antient military way then known, between Manchester and Ribchester. However, to establish this notion, he was forced to represent Antonine as a most corrupt author, and the numerals in this very place to be faulty, lest the variation in the distance should be objected to him; for this Chapel is only about nine measured miles from Manchester. His words are these, at page 429 of the edition already mentioned: "Mancunio in Antonini Itinerario succedit Coccium, quod ad Cockly facellum fuisse juxta Bury, credam ego, donec dies certiora dederit. Unaque credam necesse est apud Antoninum eo loco numerum esse corruptum, idque cum bona, ut spero, lectoris venia, cum auctor ille sit corruptissimus, si illo tempore non impeditiores erant viarum anfractus, dum vadosa in fluminibus loca perquirerent." Our valuable Antiquary has made here too hasty a conclusion, for the Romans did not, in the instance before us, go about for the sake of a convenient ford, neither did Antonine put down a wrong distance; for in fact (as I hope it will appear by and by) Coccium did not lie upon this road at all. That

it

it was not at Cockly Chapel, may be presumed, because there are no remains there, nor a tradition that any such were ever there: And therefore, they had some little more probability on their side, who supposed this station to have been at Bury; for the name of this denotes it to have been Roman, and the marks of a station are still visible here, measuring about two hundred yards one way, and how far the other, is uncertain; for at the end of ninety yards it is taken up by buildings. This might possibly be looked upon as Coccium, but that its distance from Manchester is so small, that it cannot by any means be reconciled with the Itineraries. What the name of this station was, as well as many others, we can hardly expect to know, for the Itineraries have given us but part; as Richard the Monk has confessed in these words, at the end of what he calls his *Diaphragmata*, pag. 40. “*Plurima insuper habebant Romani in Britannia castella, suis quaeque muris, turribus, portis et repagulis munita.*” And, since this is the case, their mistakes are evident, who have supposed there were no stations but what are contained in the Itineraries and have for this reason been for altering the numerals on every occasion, to make the distances between the known stations agree. It cannot indeed be denied, but that these numerals are sometimes faulty, having been too often transcribed to be found perfect; however, they ought not to be corrected without some good reason; for as most stations are to be found by their distance from two others, the arbitrary fixing of one of these, without having regard to the number of miles laid down, may serve to throw a whole Iter into confusion. It will seldom, I think, be right to make any material addition to the figures, for where the distance between two known stations is considerably larger than the numbers in the Itineraries, if proper search be made, a middle station will generally be found, so situated as to clear up the difficulty. This proved to be the case between Manchester and Ribchester; for it was plain that xx computed miles (as Mr. Horsley has called them, though in reality they are more) could never answer to the xvii or xviii of Antonine: Having therefore taken some pains



pains to search for a road, that might have led from one of these towns to the other, in a different direction from that already known, I found at last, that one took its beginning at an antient ford over the river Irwell, below the station at Manchester, near Ordsall, a seat formerly belonging to the Radcliffes; and, pointing over several inclosures, of which I know not at present the names, it crosses the highway between Manchester and Warrington, near the village of Eccles, at a place called Broom-house Lane, and runs through the estate called Hope, belonging to Daniel Bailey, Esq; where it is made of gravel, and is about twelve yards broad, and in some places lies so near the present surface of the ground, that the plough turns it up; and in one field, a little beyond this estate, it was cut through in making a marle pit: A little farther still, in a place called Lever Heath Lane, it is very visible, rising about a foot above the level of the lane, which it crosses; and is carried on through some farms called Westwoods, and Drywood, then pointing upon Wardley; and running through that estate, and some others in a direct line, till it comes to Stany-street (so called in all probability, because it might have been here a set way), it goes along Walkeden Moor, and is found again by its name at the farther end of the Moor, at a place called Street Yate, from whence it points upon the town of Blackrod. It was near the trace of this way, about half a mile nearer the town of Manchester than Blackrod, that I had the good fortune to discover the remains of a Roman station, which bid the fairest of any yet known, to be the so much sought for Coccium. Part of the ground is called Castle Croft, and the highway leading from Manchester to Preston, goes through the middle of it. It is so much demolished that it is not easy to fix the limits of it; however, it seems to have occupied a space of about two hundred and fifteen yards one way, and about two hundred another. In that part of it called Castle Croft, the ground is still very irregular, and part of the ditch is visible, and it seems as if it had been strongly fortified; the rest is so levelled by cultivation,

that

that it can scarcely be discovered where the ramparts were, except in a very few places. It has a good command of the country, especially towards the north and east; and I think, if a Beacon had been erected on the hills towards the east, it might have been seen both from this station and that near Manchester. The distance from Manchester to this station is XVIII statute miles; and as the Roman way is more than a mile shorter than the present travelled road, the XVIII mille passus in Richard the Monk, and several editions of Antonine, agree with the situation of this place to the greatest exactness. As for inscriptions, or coins, it is true, I could not learn, with any degree of truth, that any such had been found here; but that may be said of several known stations in England; the reason of which may be, that the knowledge of Antiquities has till lately been little attended to; and what things of this sort fell into the hands of our forefathers, they took not sufficient care to preserve. Many curious remains of former ages lie also concealed in antient camps, which may yet be discovered, when, for some reason or other, men have occasion to dig lower than the plough has gone. However, the station I am describing is not absolutely devoid of evidences of its antiquity; for pieces of antient bricks, and pots, if not urns, are said to have been found at or near it. The people who live upon the spot told me that there had been dug up, in the Castle Croft, two strong iron-bars, which they supposed belonged to the Castle which once stood there; and in making the present highway which runs through the station, were found a great quantity of horse-shoes, of a large size, and uncommon workmanship; but none of these are preserved.

It is remarkable that Richard the Monk has told us, that Cocceium had the Jus Latium, an honour conferred only on ten cities in the whole island; for this reason, perhaps, some might expect to find there more, and greater remains; but such conclusion is wrong, for the situation of Cambodunum (for instance), which had the same privilege, was never ascertained by any thing of this sort. If Almondbury (as most Antiquaries after Bede have supposed) was the place;



place, it is not known that ever a coin, an altar, an inscription, or any Roman remain, was ever found there; nor have the other situations, where this may with equal probability be fixed, any thing of this sort to plead for them.

FROM the whole I conclude, that the Romans had two ways from Manchester to Ribchester, which last was probably the *Πρωτόδενον* of Ptolemy, placed by him in the map, published by Mercator, where Ribchester stands, but by Mr. Horsley removed to Warrington, to make way for Coccium. One of these roads went near Bury; the other was by Blackrod, as already described; and as on the former (which has been carefully examined) there are no stations which at all correspond with the Itineraries; and Castle Croft answering thereto with the greatest exactness; I cannot but think it extremely probable that this was Coccium.

FUTURE enquiries, I hope, will enable me to write on this subject with greater precision; in the mean time, these imperfect hints, about a station which has been quite unknown to Antiquaries, are with great deference submitted to your Lordship's judgement, and that of the society, by

Your Lordship's

Most obliged humble servant,

Ripponden, Sept. 24, 1761.

JOHN WATSON.

XVIII. *Part of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, to Dr. Charles Lyttelton, relating to some Antiquities found in the County of Essex.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, November 27, 1746.

**I**N a letter I wrote some years ago to my worthy and learned friend, Mr. Roger Gale, I acquainted him that, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, a Roman pavement was discovered in Wansted Park; that it was immediately destroyed by digging holes through it, for planting an avenue of Trees, the owner of it having no great taste for things of that nature. But, from the account I got from Mr. Holt, the then surveyor of the works, I found that there was the figure of a man on horseback, plainly to be seen, in the center, and with several borders of wreathed work and ornaments, as are usual in these kinds of pavements. From the situation of this pavement, as I remember the ground thirty years ago (though the face of it now is totally changed), viz, upon an easy declivity fronting the south, close by a beautiful well of bright water, and at a small distance from the foundation of a building, which, by the nature and size of the bricks, I was certain, was Roman; I was induced to believe, that this might have been the pavement of a banqueting house belonging to some Roman Villa, by reason of the beauty of the situation, its vicinity to the capital, and the Icening-street, which I had the pleasure of shewing you where it crosses the forest, passes through my estate, and pushes for the passage cross the river Roden, now called Ilford, though two stone bridges have in more modern times been built there.

BUT this idea of its being a place of mirth and pleasure has very lately been quite overthrown; for Lord Tilney, having this

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summer made considerable alterations in this park, when they came to the spot, where this pavement formerly lay, the head-workman came to acquaint me, that they had discovered the fragments of broken pots, with divers bones, teeth, &c. my curiosity quickly carried me to the place, where I found the fragments of several urns of different colours, but of the coarsest earth, with a great deal of brick and tiles, which had undoubtedly been used in some building there, and among them one of those common Roman coins, that has on one side a head in armour, inscribed VRBS ROMA, and on the reverse, Romulus and Remus sucking the Wolf, under them P S I S, which Du Cange reads “percussa Siffiae.” The Roman coins found here admit of no hesitation, as to what people these urns belonged; and the number of them being but small, and the situation near four miles remote from Leyton, the *Durolitum* of Antoninus (as I think there is little room to question), we may conjecture this to have been the Mausoleum of some private family, whose Villa perhaps stood on that more elevated situation, where Wansted now stands.

THAT this side of our extensive forest, perhaps for a mile or two in width, was very early grubbed of its wood, and converted into culture and habitations, seems to admit of no dispute. Londinum, we know, soon became a populous city, and under a necessity of a large quantity of fuel, which could no where be had nearer than this forest; and I have observed, that, when they came to carry their magnificent roads throughout this kingdom, they always endeavoured to have an open country on each hand of them; a thing on all accounts useful, either for marching of troops, or safety of travellers. And as that (which, for distinction sake, I will call the southern Icening-street) ran evidently very near the present great road from London to Rumford, and we find Wansted mentioned as a Lordship, confirmed, with its appurtenances, by Edward the Confessor, to the church of Westminster; and in Domesday it is said to belong to St. Paul (Quere, “if not St. Peter?”); there can be no reason to be surprized that remains of the Romans should

should be discovered in this neighbourhood. One difficulty still remains, which is, to ascertain what period of the Roman government in this island these urns can be ascribed to.

THE current opinion is you know, that Burning ceased with the Antonines, and that Sepulture then took place: but this must evidently be understood to extend even to the last emperor, who took that name, viz. Heliogabalus; and not to be confined to the time of Marcus Aurelius; since, more than thirty years after his decease, we have a clear account of the burning of the Emperor Severus, who died at York; and the learned Dr. Brown, with very strong arguments, supports his opinion, that burning in general did not cease (at least in these distant provinces) until after the thorough establishment of Christianity, which, were it not for tiring your patience, I think, I could confirm, by having been an eye-witness of a discovery, where urns of Pagans and coffins of Christians were both together in one spot.

S. L.

Aldersbrook, Sept. 27, 1746.

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XIX. *Part of a Letter from Smart Lethieullier, Esq,*  
*to Mr. G. Vertue, relating to some Antiquities at*  
*Bordeaux, in France.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 27, 1746.

I PROMISED to send you some account of what remains of our English princes I was able to observe, during my stay at Bordeaux, in France, once the capital of the large dominions they possessed in that Country; but you will soon perceive, how trifling and insignificant they are; pride and revenge having exer-



cised all their fury against them. However, as I know the pleasure you take, and the indefatigable pains you have bestowed, in collecting and preserving whatever relates to any part of our English history, or antiquities, I shall make the less scruple of sending you them just as I found them.

BOURDEAUX being a city of Commerce, there are very few persons of learning or curiosity who reside in it: Some few of the lawyers, who compose the parliaments there, have indeed made collections of books and medals; but rather in compliance with the prevailing taste in Lewis the XIIth's time, than for any use they or their successors have made of them. In regard to the antiquities of the city, the only person I could obtain any assistance or intelligence from, was the reverend father Lambert, guardian of the great Franciscan Convent there. This man I found affable and communicative, a lover of history and antiquities, and actually engaged with four others in compiling a general history of Aquitain, part of the collections for which I saw in his study.

THE father informed me, that their own Convent, which is very large, surrounding two vast courts, was founded by Henry III, King of England; that they had the original Charter of donation in their possession, which was printed at large in the "Historia Sacra" of France. He said it was dedicated to Edward the Confessor, and shewed me a small statue of him in a nich over one of the doors of the cloister, under which were these words:

S. EDVARDVS TITVLARIS [q] ECCLESIAE ISTIVS CON~TVS.

UPON a stone, lately pulled down in a part of the Cloisters they were new building, I observed the arms of France, "Semée Fleur de Lis," quartered with the three Lions of England; and upon another, a Lion rampant, within a Border charged with Bezants, the bearing of Richard, earl of Cornwal, King of the Romans, brother to Henry III; on a third stone there were three Escallops, the bearing, I think, of A. P. Scales.

[q] Surely TVTELARIS.

THE

THE church of this convent was built anno 1249, 33 Henry III, but there are no remains relating to the English in it: And their old books and writings having been long since destroyed, I could gain no new light in relation to obits, or other Memorandums of their English masters. One particular I cannot help mentioning in relation to this convent, it being, I believe, almost singular, viz. Observing the large Area, contained within their outward Cloister, to lie in a most hideous manner, like a common dunghill, with a great old stone cross in the middle of it, and several broken grave-stones in confused manner among the Rubbish; I could not help enquiring the cause of such a seeming piece of neglect and indecency; when the reverend father informed me, that all Jews anciently, who would settle in their city, were obliged to undergo the external ceremony of baptism, and that this spot was then allotted them as a cemetery; but that, for this last century, they had been permitted to live after their own manner, and had a burying place without the city, since which this spot had no longer been regarded by either Jews or Christians.

THE same father shewed me a MS. book, wrote not long before the year 1600, entitled, "*La Bourgeoisie de Bourdeaux*," but I found little in it relating to my enquiries. In one part, I met with a Memorandum to this effect; that Jean de Greli, Capital de Bouch, becoming owner of the house that was Puy Paulins, sold his antient hotel to Edward, prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitain, which the said prince bought on purpose for the residence of his lieutenants and governors of that province; to which purpose it was employed as long as Aquitain was the demesne of the crown of England. That Talbot was the last governor, who lived in it, and left his name to the house; but when Aquitain was reduced to the power of France by Charles VII, all the arms, furniture, and other effects of the said Talbot, were plundered and destroyed by the mob, in abhorrence of the tyranny of the English; even as the palace of Tarquin the Proud was destroyed.



destroyed by the Roman people. The front of this palace was standing in the memory of the person who wrote this manuscript; and he says, it was an ornament to the street; for the gallery in the front, upon which were bas-relieves of men in armour, fighting, of exquisite workmanship.

PRINCE Edward, and the former governor of Aquitain before this purchase, used to reside in an ancient palace of Jean sans Terre, contiguous to the parish church of St. Simeon, which served as a chapel to it, but was very troublesome by reason of the noise of the bells there; otherwise very agreeably situated on the banks of the canal of the antient Port St. Pier, by the course of the rivulet called Devisè, so much celebrated by Ausonius in his *Burdigalia*: But this canal being stopped up with sand, and becoming a common sewer, became very offensive for which reason the prince moved his lodgings to the archbishop's palace, and gave the said antient palace to the archbishop and his successors for ever, from whom it was alienated through many hands, and is now totally destroyed. In the foresaid church of St. Simeon, I observed one quarry of glass, at a very great height, with three Lions on it, as borne by the Kings of England; and there is the same on a stone in the city wall, near the garden of the Augustin Friar, which are all the memorials of our nation I could meet with.

THE same manuscript mentions, that when Charles VII conquered Aquitain, and reduced Bourdeaux to his obedience, anno 1453; he changed the arms of the city, which were three Leopards, gold, one above the other, by effacing the two uppermost, and in their place substituted a Chiefe Azure Semée Fleur de Lis, which they continue to bear to this day.

THERE is no question, but at that time, all arms, inscriptions, or memorials of the English were purposely defaced, and all the coin that could be found called in, and melted down; to which, no doubt, is owing the great scarcity of any pieces struck by our kings of England in their Aquitain dominions.

I MADE

I MADE all the enquiries possible after pieces of this kind, but was not able to procure one during my stay at Bourdeaux; nor indeed had the good father, or any one else I spoke to, ever heard there was any such thing existing; but about a fortnight after I arrived at Paris, I received a letter from the same father with a Two-pence of Richard II, duke of Aquitain, inclosed in it; and this was the foundation of that very curious collection of them now in possession of Charles Frederic, esquire (now Sir Charles, Baronet).

HAVING mentioned these coins, I shall conclude this empty narrative with a memorandum taken from the above-cited manuscript, wherein mention is made of some of them. I send it you in the original, such things not easily bearing a translation.

“ Defuncta Domina de Blancha de Fuxo quondam Capitaliffa de  
“ Bogio, presta a pierre de Sant Bourgois e monneyeur de Bourdeaux  
“ cinquante Derniere ou Pieffes d’ Or nommè *Leopards*; quinqu-  
“ ginta Denariorum aureorum vocatos *Leopardos* de auro Burde-  
“ galenfi.”

S. L.

Aldersbrook, March 18, 1749.

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XX. *A short Dissertation on the Antiquities of the two Ancient Ports of Richborough and Sandwich, by the Isle of Tanet in Kent. Communicated by the Reverend Mr. John Lewis.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, October 11, 1744.

THREE years after the death of the learned John Battely, D. D. Archdeacon of Canterbury, was printed in Latin at Oxford, a beautiful little tract, intituled “*Antiquitates Rutupinae*,” or, the Antiquities of Richborough. It is an account of a conver-  
sation.



fation betwixt him and his two brother-chaplains to archbishop Sancroft, the learned Dr. Henry Maurice, and Mr. Henry Wharton, vicar of Mynstere, in the isle of Tanet, in a very polite and elegant style. -- Page 9, he tells them, that he undertakes to shew, that the antient port of Sandwich was bounded within the said limits which he ascribed to the port of Richborough, viz. Peperness to the east, and North-muth to the north.

But this seems to me a wrong account of the Richborough Port, owing to his either having never seen the place, or not viewed it with sufficient attention; the bounds of the large aestuary, a part of which was the Richborough port or haven, so called from a little island toward the east part of it, called Ruochim-inis, and Ruoch-berg, were the continent of East Kent and the Isle of Tanet, in both which the rising ground yet shews where the water was antiently. The mouth of the aestuary extended itself from Ramsgate Cliff to Walmer, about four or five miles in breadth; so that the sea antiently dashed against the walls of Richborough Castle, or the shore of the island beneath them, and covered all that land[r], on which Storer and Sandwich were afterwards built, and all that flat, or level, which is betwixt Sandwich and Deal, or Walmer. Bede, about A. D. 700, observed that the aestuary was then decayed, and was called Wantsume, and that the part of it which came in to the sea at the North-muth by the Reculver, was then reduced to about three stadia, or not half an Italian mile, whereas Eyefight informs us, that it had been above an English mile in breadth. Solinus called the other part of this Wantsume, a slender or narrow stream, which, in King Cnute's grant of the port of Sandwich, to the prior, &c. of Christ-church, Canterbury, is represented as so straight or narrow, that a man might fling a little hatchet ashore from a vessel riding in the middle of it at high water: Yet antiently it covered all the level betwixt the rising ground in the isle of

[q] This coast or shore was called "Rutupina Littora." The aestuary flowed up as high as Chartham, about three miles beyond Canterbury, almost twenty miles in length.

Tanet, and that in East Kent over against it, about five miles in breadth. This æstuary is now yet more fallen away and confined to the narrow bounds of the river Stour, which are not half a stone's cast wide, occasioned by the inning the land on each side of it.

It is owned that the bounds of the port of Sandwich, were Peeper or Peeper-neffe, a small sand in the eastern mouth of the æstuary and Meres-fleet [s] by the North-muth: Or as the Sandwich records state them from Eadburgate [t], one of the gates of Sandwich, I suppose, and Merks-fleet, or the above Meres-fleet. What is now called Sandwich haven lies betwixt the sands called the Downs, and Peeper-neffe, and the isle of Tanet, and is about a mile broad, and so shallow at dead low water, that any one may ride across it.

ON the west side of the river Stour, which now runs in a winding stream towards the haven, was Stonar, built on a little Island, made by the river Stour and the æstuary, which still flowed at Ipwid-fleet. It was called Stonar, from the vast quantity of sea-beach, which the sea had cast up at this place, as much as to say, the stone-coast. At about a quarter of a mile further south, on the continent of east Kent, was built the town of Sandwich, on the south side of the river Stour, which ran close by the town, and discharged itself into the sea, running across [u] the heaps of sand, or betwixt them, which are now called the Downs. This was a most convenient situation for trade and commerce with France, London, and Canterbury, but the river was then broader than it is now, and ran by the walls of the town.

By this it appears to me, that the antient port of Sandwich was never of the same extent with that of the famous port of Richborough; though it was of great use, and much frequented, til the fur-

[s] Marsh-flete, where ships could float: The Genlade, or Inlet, on the south side of Reculver.

[t] Perhaps Eastburgh-gate, now Eastry-gate.

[u] This Giraldus Cambrensis calls Exterior Portus, as being betwixt Sandwich and the main sea.



ther decay of the Wantsume made it not navigable for ships of any great burden. But what is said to have given the finishing stroke to its ruin, was the sinking a large carrack[x] in the channel, and the gathering of the sands about it, which quite dammed up the passage of the remaining part of the Wantsume to the east into the sea; on which, as it seems to me, the river Stour made itself a winding passage to the north, by Stonar, to Peeper-neffe, as it still continues to do with little alteration.

SIR Thomas More intimated, that, some time before 1529, a commission was granted to diverse men of worship, who met at Sandwich to commune and devise about the amendment of the haven, and that within few years past great ships were accustomed to ride there without difficulty. John Stow tells us, that Peter Brier, Steward of Normandy, with a fleet of Frenchmen, landed at Sandwich, 1457, and with fire and sword wasted the town to ashes, and slew the inhabitants to the last man. But, as the occasion of the loss of so good an harbour was found to be the rising of the sands, there not being water in the æstuary sufficient to scour the haven, and drive the sands from it, and for the want of such scouring, the haven was choaked up with sand; the restoring this port or harbour seems to have been judged impracticable at that time and since.

WHENCE this æstuary first began to decay, we have no records to inform us. The most early account is that of Julius Caesar's [y] landing in this port of Richborough, which seems to intimate its being in a decaying condition at that time. According to this account he landed a thousand paces[z] to the northward of Dover, and anchored his ships "*aperto et plano littore*," which agrees with Deal, near to which were many shallows, or places fordable. This agrees to the large flat betwixt Lower and Upper Deal. He fur-

[x] See Sir Thomas More's *Dialogues*, fol. 119. ed. 1529.

[y] *Comment.* l. iv. § 20. 24.

[z] *Passus*, five foot.

ther observed, that his soldiers after they were got out of their ships could not “ firmiter infistere,” the bottom of the ford being a slippery mud. The same was the case of the Wantsume at the North-mouth, when the church of St. Nicholas was built in Tanet, almost over against Reculver, which is called St. Nicholas at Wade, or *Wadum*, the ford. The occasion of this decay of the aestuary, however, about Richborough, it is plain enough, was the gathering of the North-muth, or Reculver, and the south east of the isle of Tanet, which kept the sea from flowing, as usual, at those two mouths of the aestuary. But what was the cause of those sand gathering is not so evident. The most probable guess is the breaking of the isthmus betwixt Calais and the Port of Dover.

FROM Deal to Walmer, the sea has thrown up a vast quantity of beach, which kept the sea from flowing on the large flat betwixt that place and Upper Deal.



XXI. *A Letter from William Milborne, Esq; of  
Arniathwaite Castle, Cumberland.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 17, 1755.

MR. Camden speaking of Wetheral, in the county of Cumberland, says, “Here you see a sort of houses dug out of a rock, that seem to have been designed for an absconding place.” To which his learned annotator adds, “If not for some hermite to lodge in, being near the Monastery.” These caves are in a rock of difficult access, and are two rooms one within another, each about five or six yards square.

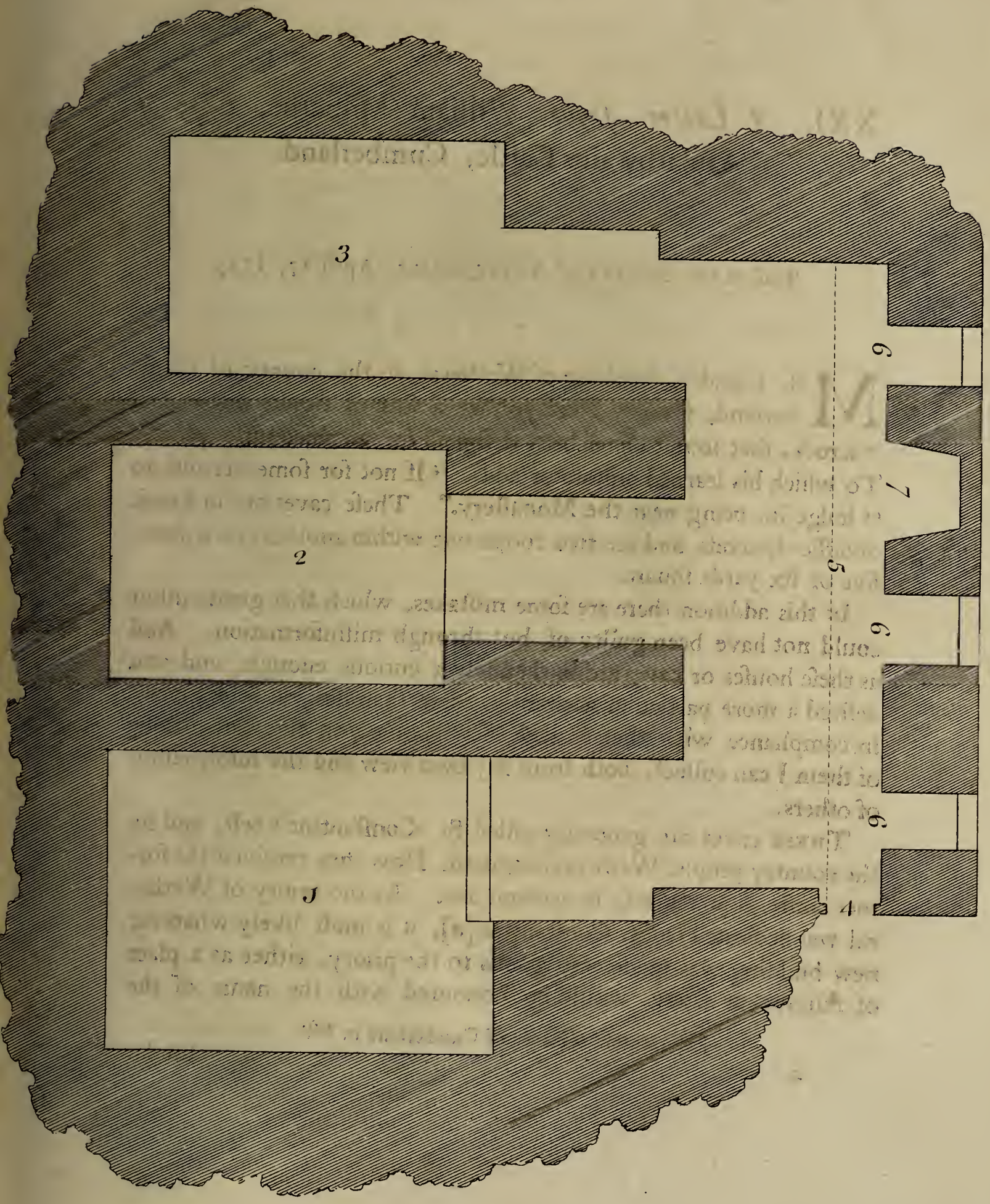
In this addition there are some mistakes, which that great author could not have been guilty of, but through misinformation. And as these houses or caves are in themselves curious enough, and you desired a more particular account of them than has yet been given; in compliance with that request, I will give you the best history of them I can collect, both from my own view and the information of others.

THESE caves are generally called St. Constantine’s cell, and by the country people, Wetheral safeguard. How they received the former name is pretty easy to account for. As the priory of Wetheral was dedicated to St. Constantine[a], it is most likely whatever new building was made contiguous to the priory, either as a place of religion or safety, would be honoured with the name of the

[a] Denton’s History of Cumberland in MS.



# Plan of the Cells at Wetheral.



Scale of feet.







tutelar faint of the place. And as for the latter appellation, it seems to prove the conjecture of Mr. Camden, that they were designed for an absconding place; for the story of their being intended for that purpose having been delivered down to the country people by tradition, would naturally lead them to that name of safeguard.

HOWEVER, both Mr. Camden and the Bishop of London may be right in their several conjectures; for these places might, upon different occasions, serve both for an absconding place, and as a lodging for an Hermit.—Upon an invasion of the Scots, which were frequent in those parts, the prior, or the most considerable of the monks, might retire here, with the money, plate, and valuable effects of the priory, till the danger was over. And in time of peace, some one of the more devout of those days might take it into his head to sequester himself in these solitary caves, more closely from conversation and the world, than he could do in his apartments in the convent.

THE Bishop is extremely right, in observing that they are in a rock of difficult access; for the only way to come at them, is by a steep descent of several yards, along a narrow and difficult path, without any appearance of the road having ever been better: But then he has been misinformed, where they are said to be two rooms one within the other; for they consist of three rooms, not one within the other (which is understood to be where one room makes a passage into another), but three rooms, as I may say, abreast, with a gallery in front, which makes a communication to each room, such as the imperfect sketch may serve to explain.

THESE cells are dug out of a rock, at the height of about forty feet from the summer level of the river Eden, which washes the bottom of it, and are of the several dimensions as set down in the table of references. A ledge of the rock, about eight feet below the floor of the cells, serves as a foundation for the wall which is built before the cells, and which makes the gallery, which wall is of good ashler work, and reaches in height a little way above.



the top of the cells, to which it was formerly joined by a roof covered with lead or slate; when this roof was in repair, the cells must have been a warm, dry, and comfortable dwelling. The door in the gallery is at one end, and about seven feet above the path leading to the cells; there are no remains of any steps up to it, so that the entrance must have been made by means of a ladder, which the inhabitant of the cells might draw up for his greater security. In the middle of the wall is a chimney; and there are three windows in it, one opposite to every cell, to give light to them.

THERE are no inscriptions to be found in the cells, or on the wall; but upon the same rock out of which the cells are hewn, a little higher up the river, and about ten or twelve feet from the summer level of the water you meet with this inscription:

MAXIMVS SCRIPSIT  
LE XX V V COND: CASOSIVS.

WHAT may be the meaning of this inscription, you will be the best judge; as for myself, I pretend to very little knowlege in this kind of decyphering. The LE XX V V COND might perhaps be read "Legio vicefima Valens Victrix condidit," and may be supposed Roman; but what the latter part of the inscription, and the awkward figure of a buck or stag may mean, I am at a loss to find out. Whatever the other may be, the "Maximus scripsit" seems to be modern; and it must be observed that it is a yard distant from the other part of the inscription.

A Table of References to the Draught of the Cells.

	feet	inch.		feet	inch.		feet	inch.
1. Cell, long	22	2	high	8	10	5. Gallery long	26	0
broad	12	4	3. Cell, long	20	00	broad	7	0
high	8	7	broad	9	7	high	8	3
2. Cell, long	21	8	high	8	8	6. 6. 6. Windows.		
broad	9	5	4. Door into the gallery.			7. Chimney.		

XXII. *Particulars*

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XXII. *Particulars relating to John Harding, and the Records he recovered from Scotland.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 15, 1770.

MR West communicated to the Society a fine printed copy of John Harding's Chronicle, formerly belonging to John Dee, the famous mathematician. On one of the covers is pasted an original writ of Privy Seal, dated anno 36 H. VI. directed to William Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester, then Chancellor, for making out Letters Patent under the Great Seal, granting to the said John Harding a yearly pension of 20 l. for life, in consideration of his having recovered, at the great expence and hazard of his person, certain Letters Patent, and other Muniments, declarative of the right of Sovereignty in the crown of England over that of Scotland. The words of the Writ are:

“ HENRICUS Dei Gratia Rex Angliae, et Franciae, et Dominus Hiberniae, Reverendo in Christo Patri Willielmo Winton. Episc. Cancellario nostro, Salutem. Vobis mandamus, quod literas nostras patentes sub magno Sigillo nostro fieri faciatis in forma sequenti: Omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis, quod nos intime considerantes qualiter Johannes Harding de Nunciis nostris Scotiae certas Evidentias et Literas Davidis et Roberti, quondam Regum Scotiae, Jus nostrum Superioritatis et supremi Domini Regni Scotiae concernentes, in quibus praedicti David et Robertus Reges, Heredes et Successores sui, tenentur et obligantur tenere praedictum Regnum Scotiae de regibus Angliae, qui pro tempore fuerint, in perpetuum per Homagium ligium et fidelitatem tanquam Dominis superioribus Regni Scotiae, non absque corporis sui periculo et



*mahemio* incurabili [a] ac gravibus expensis, acquisivit, quas quidem Evidentias et Literas patentes ac quam plures alias Evidentias notabiles praedictam Superioritatem nostram approbantes, non obstante quod Jacobus nuper Rex Scotiae pro eisdem sibi reddendis Mille Marcas ei dedisse, obtulit, Nobis liberavit, de gratia nostra speciali concessimus eidem Johanni Harding quendam annuum redditum viginti Librarum, habend. tenend. et percipiend. praedictum annuum redditum viginti Librarum, ad terminum vitae suae de nobis et heredibus nostris per manus Vicecomitis Comitatus Lincoln. qui pro tempore fuerit, de redditibus, firmis, exitibus, commoditatibus, proficuis, et revencionibus de praedict. Com. Lincoln provenientibus, ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis annuatim per aequales portiones in perpetuum, aliis donis seu concessionibus per nos aut progenitores nostros ante sibi factis aut aliquibus statutis sive ordinationibus, conciliis, revocationibus, resumptionibus, aut aliis causis seu materiis quibuscunque in contrarium faciend. non obstantibus. In cujus rei &c. Teste meipso &c. Dat. sub privato Sigillo nostro apud Palatium nostrum. Westmon. quinto decimo die Novembris anno regni nostri tricesimo sexto.

BENET.

THIS John Harding appears by a patent 18 H. VI. to have been a Lincolnshire man. Bishop Nicholson [b], who calls him a Northern Englishman, says he was an inveterate enemy to the

[a] This circumstance which has hitherto escaped our historians, is express by Hardyng himself in the last chapter of his Chronicle, fol. 233, b<sup>2</sup> where he desires E. IV.

“For to confidre my losse and my maim in fere,

“For England’s right as well as I couth spere.”

[b] English Histor. Lib. p. 68. fol. Ed. Bishop Tanner also [Bibl. Brit. art. Hardyng, p. 377] calls him *septentrionali patria natus*. But the memorandum he cites from the Yellow Book of the Exchequer styles him “J. Hardyng de Kyme.” N. and S. Kyme are two contiguous villages in Kesteven division on the edge of the Fens in Lincolnshire. Hence probably came his connection with Robert Lord Umfravill, under whom he served and who was Lord of Kyme, in right of his Grandfather’s marriage with the sister and heiress of William de Kyme. This Robert Lord Umfraville died 15 H. VI. Dugd. Bar. I. 507. 508.

Scotish



Scottish nation [c], against whom he early carried arms in several expeditions. The Records which he procured in support of his Sovereign King Henry V's title to the Crown of Scotland, and the homages of several Scotch Kings and Noblemen paid to the Kings of England, are preserved in the Exchequer at Westminster, in a separate box, inscribed, *Scotia: Hardinge*. Bishop Tanner [d] says, that by the patents of Henry VI, "*multa privilegia concedebantur huic Hardingo, pro procurandis Scotorum annalibus.*" But all the reward that he appears to have had for such great service done to the Crown, was, first, a Grant for life from this Prince, [e] in his 18th year, pursuant to a promise made by his father King Henry V, of a fee farm rent of ten pounds per annum, issuing out of the Manor or Alien Preceptory of Wyloughton [f], in Lincolnshire; which was the following year confirmed by other Letters Patent of

[c] See his invectives against them in chap. 240 of his Chronicle.

[d] Ubi sup.

[e] Pat. 18 Henry VI. p. 3. m. 15.

[f] The Empress Maud gave this Church, or a moiety of it, to the Abbey of St. Nicholas by Angiers, which had a pension out of it. A manor in Wyloughton, lately belonging to that Abbey, was granted by Henry VI. to King's College, Cambridge. Pat. 19 Henry VI. p. 3. m. Tanner Not. Mon. p. 269.—This Manor appears to have been granted away to different uses, three times in a year: first, to the College; then, September 12, to the Commissioners for receiving the rents and profits of dissolved Alien Priories; and, December 22 the same year, to John Hardyng. In the 16th of Henry VI. it had been vested in John Middleton for seven years, at a yearly rent of 10*l.* which rent was afterwards assigned over for the like term, by Pat. 19 Henry VI. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Afaph, and Sarum; William Earl of Suffolk, John Somerseth, Thomas Bekyngton, Richard Andrews, and Adam Molyns, Clerks; John Hampton and James Fenys, Esquires, and William Tresham; who were Commissioners for receiving the revenues of all the dissolved Alien Priories. From these it was afterwards in the same year assigned to Hardyng.—The greatest part of the town being given by Stephen to the Knights Templars, they had founded a Preceptory here, valued, at the dissolution, at 174*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* clear. Tanner, Not. Mon. ubi sup.



the same King [g], and a pension of twenty pounds per annum, during his life, charged upon the revenues of the county of Lincoln in consequence of the beforementioned writ.

THIS Author's rhyming Chronicle (a MS. of which, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. B. 26. is supposed to be the original presented to Edward IV.) was printed at London, 1543, 4°. with a continuation in prose by Grafton. The tract "De submissione regum Scotiæ sub Angliâ," ascribed by Pits to Hardyng, is justly supposed by Bishop Tanner to be only part of his Chronicle, perhaps the last chapter, containing, "the distaunce and miles of the townes in Scotland, and the waie how to conveigh an armie as well by lande as water, into the chieftest parts thereof;" so that three good armies meeting at Glasgowe, may lay the whole kingdom waste within a month. It is somewhat remarkable, that in his advice to Edward IV [b], to assert his right to the Crown of Scotland, he grounds it only on the homage done by John Baliol to Edward I.—He must have lived till the year 1465 at least, if not later, since he offers his History for the information of the *Queen*, who was not married to Edward IV, till February that year, and crowned at Westminster the year following [i].

[g] Pat. 19. Henry VI. p. 1. m. 19.

[b] Chapters 240 and 241.

[i] Hall's Chron. Ed. 4, f. vi. w.

XXIII. *A Petition of the City of Winchester to King Henry VI. Communicated by Dr. Ducarel.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 13, 1755.

Anno 1450. 30 Hen. VI.

To the Kynge our Soverayne Lord,

**B**ESECHESSE fulle humblie your humble trew leige men, the maire, balifs, and comonalitie of your pouere citee of Wynchestre, that, whereas they have ben charged to bere the fee ferme of your said citee, whiche draweth yerlyee to the somme of an cxii marc, and bere also to the maister of the Hospitalle of Marie Maudalene beside Wynchestre lx s. also when the xv penny or taxe is graunted to your highnesse, it draweth to the somme of li l. x s. iv d. withyne the said citee, the whiche whenne it is levable, sum oon man in the said citee is sette unto iiii marc, and sum v marc, because your said citee is desolate of peple; also expens of Burges of the said citee comyng to your parlements, draweth to iiii s. by the daye, for the which said fee ferme so to be paid, your bailiffs have little or nought of certigntee to arayse it of but oonly of casualtees and yerelie lesen in payment of the said fee ferme xl l. or more; for which causes above said, and also for the grete charges and dayelie costes the which your said pouere citee berethe abowte the enclosyng and meerage of your said citee, it is become right desolate, in so much as many notable parsons ben withdrawn out of the said citee for the causes above said, and ix<sup>c</sup> iiii<sup>xx</sup> and xvii (i. e. 997) houses which, were wont to be occupied with peple stondene now voide, and bycause of these withedrawynge xvii parryshe churches stond inofficiate



att this day, the whiche parishes and houses be more plainly expressed in a sedula hereto annexed. And where it pleased your highnesse in relyvyng of your said pouere citee, the xxiiiith day of May, the yere of your regne the xix, to graunt unto your maire and commonalite of the said citee thenne beyng in reliefe of all the charges abovesaid xl marc, to be taken yerely to theyme and to their successors unto the end of . . . wynter thenn next following offe the festes of Estren and Michaelmesse by evyn porcyons, of the issues and profits comyng of the ulnage and subsidie of wollen clothes withynne the said citee and suburbs and soke of the same, and in all other places within your shire of Suthtr by the the hands of the collectors, farmers, receyvoirs and other occupiers of the same, for the time beyng, as in your letters patents thereof to theyme made may appear more playnlie: Which annuyte is now voyde to theym, and hoolye resumed to you, because of an Acte made in your Parliament, begonne at Westmynster and fyneshed at Leicester. And so now your said suppleants stond alle utterelic destitute of alle manere of reliefe of theyre charges abovesaid, to the utteriste undoyng of your said citee for ever, without your high and noble grace be shewede to theym in this behalfe. That it pleese your said highnesse graciously to confidre the charges abovesaid, and, of your most habundant grace, to graunt unto the maire, bailiffs, and commonalite of your said citee xl marc, to be hadde and taken yerelic to theyme, and to their successors, from the feste of Michaelmes in they ere of your reigne xxviii, for evermore, of the ulnage and subsidie of wollen clothes to be sold withynn your said citee, suburbs and soke of the same, and in other places withynn your shire of Suthtr. by the hands of the collectors, fermours, receyvoirs and occupiours of the said ulnage and subsidie for the time beyng, at the festis of Estrenn and Michmas by evyn porcyons after the tēur and effecte of another sedula, to this bille annexed; the which sedula begynneth with these words, “Rex omnibus ad quos,” without any fine or fee in any wise to your use to be taken and paid, the said act of resumption,

sumption or any other statutes, ordinances, provisions, restreytes, acts, or any manere juggements, or assignements, in any wise made or to be made, notwithstanding: And thei be, and shalbe perpetuallie your oratours.

THESE ben the stretes that be fallen downe in the citee of Wyndchestre withynne  $\text{iiii}^{\text{xx}}$  (i. e. 80) yere last passed.

First, Juristrete, wherynne were  $\text{iiii}^{\text{xx}}$  (80) householders, and now but ii.

Item, Fleishmonger strete, wherynne were  $\text{vii}^{\text{xx}}$  (140) householders, and now but ii.

Item, Fishmongers-strete, wherynne were lx householders, and now ben but  $\text{iiii}$ .

Item, Colebroke-strete, wherynne were  $\text{viii}^{\text{xx}}$  householders, and now ben but xvi.

Item, Calpe-strete, wherynne were c householders, and now ben but vi.

Item, Golde-strete, wherynne were  $\text{vii}^{\text{xx}}$  householders, and now ben but  $\text{viii}$ .

Item, Burden-strete, wherynne were lx householders, and now is never oon.

Item, Shulworth-strete, wherynne were lxx households, and now ben but  $\text{iiii}$ .

Item, Bukkes-strete, wherynne were xl households, and now ben but ii.

Item, Mynestre-strete, wherynne were  $\text{iiii}^{\text{xx}}$  and x householdes, and now ben but  $\text{iiii}$ .

Item, Gar-strete, wherynne were c householdes, and now is never oon.

THE numbre of householdes that ben fallen  $\text{ix}^{\text{c}}$   $\text{iiii}^{\text{xx}}$  xvii (997), and without theise ben fallen withynne the same citee, fethe the last parlement holden there,  $\text{iiii}^{\text{xx}}$  householdes and oon.

THEISE



THEISE ben the parishe churches that ben fallen downe within the said citee,

The chirch of Saint Saviour	}	in Burden-strete.
The chirch of our Lady		
The chirch of Saint Michael, in Juri-strete.		
The chirch of Saint Michael,	}	in Fleshmonger-strete.
The chirch of Saint Swithin,		
The chirch of Saint Martin, in Parishment-strete.		
The chirch of Saint Swithin, in Shulworth-strete.		
The chirch of Saint Johan de Port Latyne, in Bukke-strete.		
The chirch of Saint Martine, in Myneftre-strete.		
The chirch of Saint Alphege,	}	in Calpe-strete.
The chirch of Saint Petrok,		
The chirch of Saint Nicolas,	}	in Golde-strete.
The chirch of Saint Boniface,		
The chirch of Saint Margaret,	}	in Gar-strete.
The chirch of Saint Andrewe,		
The chirch of Saint Poule,		
The chirch of Saint Johan in the Joye, in Tanner-strete.		
The nombre xvii cherches.		

THE defolation of the said pouere citee is so grete, and yerelie fallyng, for there is fuche decaye and unwyne, that, without gracious comforte of the Kyng our foverayne lord,, the mair and the bailiffs must of necessitee cesse and deliver uppe the citee and the kayes into the Kynges hands.

Mem<sup>d</sup>. “ Quod primo die Febr. anno regni Regis Henr. vi,  
 “ post conquestum tricesimo, ista billa liberata fuit Domino Can-  
 “ cellario Angliae, apud Westm. exequend.

“ REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia  
 “ nostra speciali, ceterisque notabilibus causis nos specialiter moven-  
 “ tibus, dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et conce-  
 “ dimus

“ dimus, dilectis nobis, majori, ballivis, et communitati civitatis  
 “ Winton, quadraginta marcas habend. et percipiend. annuatim,  
 “ prefatis majori, ballivis et co'itati, ac successoribus suis, civibus  
 “ dicte civitatis, de exitibus, firmis, et proficuis de ulnagio et subsidio  
 “ per annorum venalium infra dictam civitatem et suburbia ejusdem,  
 “ ac infra sokam ibidem, ac alibi infra Com. Suth. provenientibus  
 “ per manus collectorum, firmariorum, receptorum seu occupatorum  
 “ ulnagii et subsidii predict. pro tempore existen. ad terminos Pasche  
 “ et Sancti Michaelis per equales porco'es, eo quod expressa mentio  
 “ de aliis donis et concessionibus eisdem, majori, ballivis et com-  
 “ munitati aut predecessoribus; five antecessoribus suis, et eorum  
 “ successoribus, per nos aut aliquem progenitorum nostrorum re-  
 “ gum Anglie ante hec tempora habitis, five factis presentibus,  
 “ facta non existet, aut aliquibus statutis, ordinationibus, provisioni-  
 “ bus, resumptionibus, five actibus quibuscunque ante hec tempora  
 “ quovis modo fact. ordinat. provis. five habita, aut aliquo sta-  
 “ tuto, ordinatione, provisione, resumptione, five actu quocunque  
 “ ante hec tempora, aliquo modo fact. ordinat. provis. five habit.  
 “ aut aliqua alia causa, materia, five alia re quacunque non obstant:  
 “ In cuius rei, &c. Teste, &c.

“ Dat. apud Westm. le xxviii jour de

“ Janvier, l'an, &c. tricesimo.”

THE King hath graunted this bille for the terme of l yeres next  
 comyng, under such forme, as he, by his other letters patents, graunt-  
 ed the same herbefore. Present my lords of Wyncheſter and  
 Somerſet.

JOSEPH.



XXIV. *A brief Relation of the miraculous Victory over the first-formed Army of the Irish, soon after their Rebellion, which broke out the 23d October, 1641.*

Lisnegarvy, the 28th November, 1641.

SIR Phelim O'neal and Sir Conn Macgennis, their generals then in Ulster, and major general Plunkett, who had been a foldier in foreign kingdoms, having enlisted and drawn together out of the counties of Ardmagh, Tyrone, Antrim and Down, and other counties in Ulster, eight or nine thousand men, which were formed into eight regiments, and a troop of horse, with two field pieces; they did rendezvous, on the 27th of November, 1641, at and about a house belonging to Sir George Rawden at Brookhill, three miles distant from Lisnagarvy, in which town they knew there was a garrison of five companies newly raised, and the lord Conway's troops of horse. And their principal design being to march unto, and besiege Carrickfergus, they judged it unsafe to pass by Lisnagarvy, and therefore resolved to attack it the next morning, making little account of the opposition that could be given them by so small a number, not half armed, and so slenderly provided with ammunition, which they had perfect intelligence of by several Irish that stole away to them, and left our party; so that they were so numerous and well provided of ammunition, by the fifty barrels of powder they found in his majesty's store in the castle of Newry, which they surprized the very first night of the rebellion; also they had got into their hands the arms of all the foldiers they had murdered in Ulster, and such other arms as the found in the castles and houses which they had plundered and burnt in the whole province: Yet, it pleased God to disappoint their

their confidence, and that the small garrison they so much flighted was much encouraged by the seasonable arrival of Sir George Rawden ; who being in London on the twenty-third of October, hasted over by the way of Scotland, and landed at Banger, and got to Lisnagarvy, though late, on the twenty-seventh of November, where these new-raised men, and the Lord Conway's troops were drawn up in the market-place, expecting hourly to be assaulted by the rebels ; and they stood in that posture all that night, and before the sun was up, sent out some horse to discover their numerous enemy, who were at mass, it being Sunday ; but, immediately upon sight of our scouts, they quit their devotion, and beat drums, and marched directly to Lisnagarvy, and before ten o'clock appeared drawn up in battalia in the Warren, not above a musket-shot off the town, and sent out two divisions, of about six or seven hundred a-piece, to compass the town, and placed their field pieces on the high way to it, before their body, and with them and their long fowling pieces, killed and wounded some of our men as they stood in their ranks in the market-place ; and some of our musketeers were placed in windows, to make the like returns of shot to the enemy ; and Sir Arthur Torrington, governor of Newry, who commanded the garrison, and Sir George Rawden, and the officers, foreseeing, if their two divisions on both sides of the town should fall in together, that they would overpower our small number ; for prevention whereof, a squadron of horse with some musketeers was commanded to face one of them that was marching on the north side, and to keep them at distance as long as they could, which was so well performed, that the other division, which marched by the river on the south side, came in before the other, time enough to be well beaten back by the horse, and more than two hundred of them slain in Bridge-street, and in their retreat, as they fled back to their main body. After which execution, the horse returned into the market place, found the enemy had forced in our small party on the north side, and had entered the town, and was marching down Castle-street, which our horse so well



charged there, that, at least, three hundred of the rebels were slain in the street, and in the meadow behind the houses, through which they did run away to their main body; whereby they were so much discouraged, that in almost two hours after, their officers could not get out any more parties, to adventure a second assault upon us; but in the mean space they entertained us with continued shot from their main body, and their field pieces, till about one of the clock, that fresh parties were drawn out and beaten back, as before, with loss of many of their men, which they supplied still with others, till night, and in the dark fired all the town, which was in a few hours turned into ashes, and in that confusion and heat of the fire, the enemy made a fresh assault; but it so pleased God, that we were better provided for them than they expected, by a relief that came to us at night from Belfast, of the earl of Donegal's troop, and a company of foot commanded by captain Boyde, who was unhappily slain, presently after his first entrance into the town; and after the houses were on fire about six of the clock till about ten or eleven, it is not easy to give any certain account or relation of the several encounters, in divers places of the town, between small parties of our horse, here and there, and the rebels, whom they charged as they met, and hewed them down; so that every corner was filled with carcases, and the slain were found to be more than thrice the number of those that fought against them, as appeared next day, when the constables and inhabitants employed to bury them gave up their accounts. About ten or eleven of the clock, their two generals quit their station, and marched away in the dark, and had not above two hundred of their men with them, as we were informed next morning by several English prisoners, that escaped from them; who told us, the rest of their men were either run away before them, or slain, and that their two field pieces were thrown into the river, in some moss-pit, which we could never find after; and in this their retreat, or rather their flight, they fired Brook-hill house, and the Lord Conway's library in it, and other goods to the value of  
of

of five or fix thousand pounds ; their fear and haſte not allowing them to carry any thing away, except ſome plate and linen ; and this they did in revenge to the owner, whom they heard was landed the day before, and had been acting in the ſervice againſt them, and was ſhot that day, and alſo had his horſe ſhot under him, but mounted preſently upon another ; and captain Saint John and captain Burley were alſo wounded ; and not above thirty men more of our party, moſt of which recovered ; and about twenty-five or twenty-fix more ſlain. And if it be well conſidered how meanly our men were armed, and all our ammunition ſpent before night, and that if we had not been ſupplied with more by the timely care and providence of the earl of Donegall, and the other commiſſioners from his Maſteſty's ſtore of Carrickfergus, who ſent us powder poſt in mails on horſeback, one after another ; and that moſt of our new-raiſed companies were of poor ſtrippt men, that had made their eſcapes from the rebels, of whom they had ſuch a dread, that they thought them not eaſily to be beaten ; and that all our horſe, who did the moſt execution, were not above 120, viz. the lord Conway's troops, and a ſquadron of lord Grandiſon's troops, the reſt of them having been murdered at their quarters, and about forty of a country troop, newly raiſed, until that ſupply of the troops and company from Belfast came to us at night ; it muſt be confeſſed, that the Lord of hoſts did ſignally appear for us, who can ſave with or without any means, and did by very ſmall means give us this victory over his, and our enemies ; and enough of their arms to ſupply the defects of our new-raiſed companies, beſides about 50 of their colours and drums. But it is to be remembered with much regret, that this loſs and overthrow, did ſo enrage the rebels, that, for ſeveral days and weeks after, they murdered many hundreds of Proteſtants, whom they had kept priſoners in the counties of Ardmagh and Tyrone, and other parts of Ulſter, and tormented them by ſeveral manners of death. And it is a circumſtance very obſervable, that much ſnow had fallen in the week before this



action, and in the day before it was a little thaw, and frost thereupon in the night, so that the streets were covered with ice, which proved greatly to our advantage; for that all the smiths had been employed that whole night to frost our horses; so that they stood firm when the brouges split, and fell down under their feet, for which and our miraculous deliverance from a cruel and bloody enemy, how great a cause have we to rejoice and praise the name of our God, and say with the kingly prophet, "If it had not been the Lord himself who was on our side, when men rose up against us; they had swallowed us up quick, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us: Yea the waters had drowned us, and the stream had gone over our souls: But praised be the Lord, who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth; our soul has escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken and we are delivered; our help standeth in the name of the Lord; who hath made heaven and earth. Amen."

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XXV. *Remarks on the foregoing Narrative, by Mr. Bowman.*

IN the parish-register of Lisburn, in the county of Antrim, I found the foregoing account, &c. which not being taken notice of by any historian, I present the Society with a faithful copy of it, in the hand-writing of the Reverend Mr. Anthony Rogers, present rector of that parish.

FOR the understanding this piece of history, it must be remembered, that Lisburn, 70 miles north of Dublin, on the Lagan river, which separates the counties of Down and Antrim, belonging to my lord Conway, is the same with Lisnagarvy, an Irish name, meaning the "Gamester's Fort;" and from its being burnt several times,

times, whereof the last happened in 1707, it came to be called Lisburn. On account of its fidelity to the English government, King Charles II gave it the privilege of sending two members to parliament, and of becoming the seat of the diocese of Down and Connor. It is now an exceeding neat village, on an eminence upon the north side of the river, consisting of three streets, with a mercat-house in the middle, answering the three roads, from Belfast, the county of Down, and the county of Armagh.

THE great street towards Belfast, on the east, is called Castle-street, from the seat of the Conway family, which stood on the top of the hill, but which was consumed in the last general fire; that from the county of Down on the south, ascending from the bridge, is called Bridge-street; the road, which goes from the third street to the west, soon divides into the great road to Moyra, Lurgan, and Armagh, and a road traversing the Barony of Killaltagh for ten miles together, to Portmore, near the great Loch Neagh. This road, for five miles, runs upon a vast mound of artificial earth, which may be traced two miles lower down towards Belfast, sometimes straight, sometimes winding, as if it had been a barrier across from Belfast to the bogs, by Portmore. The work is noble enough for the Romans; but the learned of Ireland refuse all subjection to the Romans. On this road, three miles westward, is Brook-hill, long held by the Rawden family, by lease, from the Lord Conway; who there, at that time, had a country house.

AFTER this description of the place, it is further necessary to recollect, that it is agreed upon by all, that in time of great tranquillity, the general revolt of Irish catholics, in 1641, broke out, Saturday October 23, the day that the castle of Newry, 47 miles north of Dublin, actually was, and the castle of Dublin itself intended to have been, seized by the rebels.

UPON the disappointment at Dublin, the revolt headed by Sir Phelim O'neal at once spread over the province of Ulster, in a general massacre of the Protestants. Sir John Temple [c], then master

[c] The "Irish Rebellion," or an history of the beginning and first progress of the general rebellion in Ireland. London, 1646, 4to.



of the rolls in Ireland, has given us an account of this famous butchery, for the first two months only, which may be depended upon from his station and character. He, Sir Phelim, immediately put all the nine counties of Ulster, with most of the forts and castles, in the rebels power, except the county of Antrim, and half the county of Down; (p. 39.) And November 5, the letter of the justices to the council in England says, that in five counties they had seized all the Protestants houses and estates, (p. 46.) The apparent reason of this exception seems to be this: In the county of Antrim, and the lower part of the county of Down, the Scots chiefly settled in King James's time, after the earl of Tyrone's rebellion; and to delude them, the rebels at first pretended to spare the Scots, till they dispatched the English; but whether the Scots were equally alarmed, or whether the rebels had thought they had made sufficient progress in the murder of the English, at last they resolved to make sure work, and to spare none in the province.

THE province of Ulster was conquered by Queen Elizabeth; the old English settlement, separated from the Irish, called the Pale, was chiefly confined to the province of Leinster; and Dundalk was its frontier on the north, thirty-nine miles from Dublin, and thirty-one from Lisburn. The English Catholics here were in concert with the rebels, but lay still, till the rebels should come up with them after finishing their business in Ulster; wherefore, after their first progress, it does appear, that the Ulstrian rebels took different routs according to these two branches of their scheme [d]: The body of them from the counties of Cavan and Monaghan, under Okely of Cavan, and Moore of the Pale, advanced southwards, and Sir Phelim O'neal, and Sir Con Macgennis, with the rest, remained to finish the entire conquest of Ulster. The first, about the beginning of November, entered the Pale, by seizing Dundalk, and met with no resistance till the twenty-first at Drogheda (Hist. p. 44, 45.), where Sir Henry Titchburne arrived the fourth, with a new-raised regiment from Dublin:

[d] Sir William Temple, Review, p. 17.

(ib. p. 14, 15.). Upon advice of their arrival, a reinforcement for the garrison of Drogheda was sent from Dublin the twenty-seventh, and defeated the twenty-ninth in the morning, six or seven miles on this side of the town, by a part of the rebels, who came round by Slaine, above on the Boyne, and intercepted them on their march.--By the very same bridge of Slaine, four miles above Drogheda, King William's right wing passed the Boyne, on the glorious first of July, 1691.

AFTER this action, the rebels invested Drogheda, and lay betwixt it and Dublin, so that afterwards the justices had no communion with it, at least, by land (p. 21.), and had very little intelligence of what passed in the north; for after two interviews by December the seventh, the quality within the Pale had declared for the rebels, and all the English Catholics in Leinster were up in arms.

As for the other part of the rebels, which remained for finishing their affairs in Ulster, by this time they had ruined the country, and murdered the people, both English and Scots, but had not accomplished the most essential part of this business, which was to secure the English fortress at Carrickfergus, both to provide themselves with artillery, and to prevent succours for the Protestants in the north, from England and Scotland, which they had reason to expect on their backs, to take vengeance for their treachery and cruelty. Every body knows, that, when all Ireland was reduced by King James, Duke Schomberg landed his English army in this quarter, when he could enter the country no where else.

DURING the massacre, the Protestants of the counties of Down and Antrim had no place but Lisburn, Belfast, and Carrickfergus, to fly to, for shelter and protection. There the refugees were formed into several companies of foot, and provided with arms and ammunition out of the King's stores. As all the English forces, which consisted of but 3240 men, were dispersed up and down the kingdom, so my lord Conway's troop of horse, and lord Donegal's, consisting of fifty-four men each, besides officers,



were gathered in Lisburn and Belfast, to protect their own people. At this time of the year the Lagan river, for thirteen miles from Moyra to Belfast, is impassible for either horse or carriages; and Lisburn is the great passage betwixt the two countries; wherefore the rebels, to execute their enterprize, came in from Ardmagh on the west, and meeting their friends from the north, rendezvoused at Brookhill, in order to proceed by Lisburn and Belfast to Carrickfergus, and either take it, or destroy all the Protestant forces round the coast of the county of Down.

THEY miscarried in their attempt at Lisburn, and the circumstances of their repulse make still a secret piece of history in Ireland; but which are particularized in, and vouched from, this authentic register. The circumstances are these; in Lisburn there were five companies of new-raised foot, which at least, being computed upon the footing of the old English troops, of fifty men to a company, officers included, made 250 foot: Those, with Lord Conway's troop of horse, made but 300 in all, beside the inhabitants and refugees from the country. This was but a small defence for an open village, against an army of brutal men: For though the castle was fenced, moated, and parapeted round; yet the town in every other quarter lay open, excepting such barricades as we may naturally imagine might be thrown up in haste, on that occasion of danger. The rebels, after their rendezvous, within three miles of the town, marched with eight or nine thousand men and two field pieces, to attack it upon the Moyra road on the west side.

BETWIXT this road and the river there was a warren upon an eminence which descends into the town, and from which there is a narrow passage directly into the market-place, where the English garrison was drawn up in the center of the town. On this rising ground the rebels, on November twenty-eight, forming themselves in line of battle, detached twelve or fourteen thousand men, for two attacks, one along the road, down Bow-lane on the north, and one betwixt the town and river, in order to come up from  
the

the bridge on the south, taking the garrison in the flanks, to drive them from the mercat-place, or cut them in pieces. Sir Arthur Tyringham, who had been governor of Newry, and commanded a company in the King's army, and Sir George Rawden of Moyra (who held a lease of Brookhill, and afterwards married Lord Conway's daughter in King Charles II's time, managed this estate for his brother in law, Earl Conway) commanded in the town, and divided their men, and employed the horse to skirmish on the defensive, to the north; while the foot repulsed the rebels to the south. This check protracted the assault with various success, from six in the morning till night; when the town was reinforced with a hundred horse of the king's troops from Belfast, seven miles below Lisburn, after it was set on fire by the rebels: However, with the houses all burning about their ears, the English for five hours maintained their ground, and forced the whole army of their enemies to retire in confusion, after they had killed of them thrice their own number.

THIS happened the day before the defeat of the reinforcement going to Drogheda, and was not only the first advantage the English gained over the rebels, but the first action betwixt them after the revolt. Sir J. Temple seems not to have been acquainted with the particulars of this action; since he only mentions it three times in general. "Sir Phelim O'neal," says he, in a letter dated from Montjoy, 30 October, "bragged of many and great victories; " and presently after, he had gotten such a multitude of rude fellows " together, though in very ill equipage, as he marched down " with great numbers of men towards Lisnagarvy near the chief " plantation of the Scots,---and yet left sufficient forces to come " up into the pale, to take in Dundalk in the county of Lowth." (Hist. p. 44.)

HAD he known the detail of the affair truly, it is very probable, he would have balanced the English loss at Drogheda with this advantage, which was double, compared with the other, either in the consequences, or in the number of men killed: For on this



siege Drogheda, of 650 foot and horse together, 500 of them fell into the hands of the rebels; whereas in Lisburn, there being 400 regular troops, besides people, if they killed thrice their number, the rebels there could not lose less than 1200 men. Whereas if they cut the troops to pieces in Lisburn, with that success, they could have met with no resistance at Belfast, and but little at Carrickfergus. But as he professes his history relates chiefly to the safety of Dublin, so there centered all his fears. Nor indeed at the time could he have any intelligence from the county of Antrim, but a general accidental report, all communication with it being cut off by the rebellion spreading into Leinster.

THIS, I think, sufficiently accounts for the silence of historians about this first victory over the rebels. Some of my friends in that country suspected this register in Lisburn being authentic, from two other circumstances of time and place: Of Sir Phelim O'neal's presence at Drogheda two days after. There seems to be no mistake in the date of the register, which makes November 28 to be a Sunday; for it agrees with Sir J. Temple, who calls the 29th a Monday; which shews it to have been wrote at the time, and not imagined afterwards. There being but fifty-seven miles from Lisburn to Drogheda, Sir Phelim O'neal might be there two days after the repulse: But from Sir J. Temple, it is pretty plain, he was not at Drogheda, either before, or eight days after; for he was not among the rebel chiefs, who led the Irish in the county of Lowth: But, "while he went to Lisnagarvy, left a sufficient number to come up into the Pale" (see above). And therefore had time to come to Lisburn, while they invested Drogheda. Sir John, indeed, nowhere mentions the day that Sir Phelim O'neal came unto Lisnagarvy; but the main design of this expedition, with several circumstances, scattered through his collection of facts, perfectly correspond with, and confirm the register. For first, he excepts the forts and castles of the county  
of

of Antrim, and half the county of Down, from the rebels power; and accordingly neither Belfast, nor Lisburn, nor Carrickfergus, nor Coleraine in the county of Antrim, nor the Scots settlements in the Ardes, nor the county of Down were under Sir Phelim, when he proceeded to Lisburn in his way to reduce them; “For  
“ that part of their plot, to spare the chief plantation of the Scots, as  
“ they did in the beginning, they found now too gross to take,  
“ and therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy.” In the next place, all the historians aggravate the sufferings of the Protestants from the severity of the weather; and the care the garrison took to frost their horses, was the occasion of their safety. In the next place, Sir John Temple expressly mentions both Sir Phelim’s return (p. 126.) and loss at Lisnagarvy. What but his loss made him return? What was that loss? we find it in the parish register of Lisburn, and no where else. Fourthly, this loss must have been considerable, since it exasperated him into strange cruelties, to revenge it on the poor country people. Sir John says, “at Sir Phelim’s return from Lisnagarvy, some of his followers forced twenty-four British into a house, where they burned  
“ them alive. (ib.) That when at Lisnagarvy and other places,  
“ the rebels received loss of their men, they that escaped exercised  
“ their cruelty upon the Protestants every where at their retreat.  
“ That in the county of Antrim they murdered 954 in one morning; and that, besides them, deponents supposed, that they  
“ killed above 11 or 1200 in that county. That Sir Phelim  
“ caused 5000 British prisoners in Ardmagh, Tyrone, and other  
“ parts of the North, to be miserably murdered in the space of  
“ three days.”---This is the very language of the register; that this loss and overthrow did so enrage the rebels, that for several days and weeks they murdered many hundred Protestants, whom they had kept prisoners in the county of Ardmagh, Tyrone, and other parts of Ulster, and tormented them with various kinds of death.



To conclude, this defeat of the Rebels is confirmed from two points, independent of history: the preamble to King Charles II's patent in favour of Lisburn, recites the services of that town during the Irish rebellion; but, besides this, their own tradition knows of none other remarkable.

THE memory of it, till near the Revolution, was regularly preserved both by Lord Conway and Sir George Rawden, at Lisburn, by a festival kept November 28, when victuals, corn, and money, were distributed amongst the people, and they put in mind of this gallant behaviour of their fathers. Of this fact credible witnesses still remain in town and country. Wherefore, upon a critical discussion of historical circumstances, compared with the genuine air of the whole narration, I conclude this parish-register of Lisburn to be authentic, as to matters of fact, probably composed, or revised, and ordered to be inserted in the church-books by Sir G. Rawden himself, personally present in the action, and in all appearance hurried over by secretary Conway, to lend his assistance to the Protestant cause in general, and their own people in particular. And as such I communicate it to the Society, for the information of the curious in British history [*e*].

[*e*] To those who are curious to know the whole progress of this affair, I cannot but recommend the full and impartial account of this Rebellion, given by my learned and ingenious friend Ferdinando Warner, LL.D. printed in Quarto, 1766. T. M.

XXVI. *An Inscription to Lucius Aurelius Verus,  
explained by Mr. Bowman.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 26, 1735-6.

ABOUT the end of July, 1732, in looking at the reparations of the cathedral of Narbonne, I observed an inscription to L. Aurelius Verus, on a great marble, whose back had been wrought into the ornaments of Gothic architecture, for the portal of the church; while the characters themselves stood inwards upon the mortar of the wall: But when the portal was taken down in order to be re-built, the Roman Letters, by purging off the lime, appeared distinctly in the following inscription, never yet published:

IMP. CAESARI.  
DIVI. ANTONINI.  
PII. FIL. DIVI. HADRIANI.  
NEPOTI. DIVI. TRAIANI.  
PARTHICI. PRONEPOTI.  
L. AVRELIO. VERO. AR  
MENIACO. PONT. MAXIM.  
TRIBVN. POTESTAT. IIII.  
IMP. II. COS. II. PROCOS.  
DECVMANI.  
NARBONENSIS.

THIS was inscribed by the colony of the tenth legion settled at Narbonne by Claudius Nero, father to the Emperor Tiberius, where, from Martius Narbo, this city was called "Colonia Decumanorum;" by Pomponius Mela, "Colonia Atacinorum Decumanorum;" and in several Inscriptions, "Col. Julia." The inhabitants were called Atacini from the Atax river.



It was erected on the fourth year of the joint reign of M. Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, TRIB. POT.  $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ , which, though not in all cases, yet in this, is the date of empire. Sometimes the Tribunitial power was conferred during a predecessor's life [*f*]. But during the life of Antonin. Pius, Lucius Verus enjoyed no honours, except that of a senator, a questor, and a consul, with a title of the Emperor's son [*g*], till M. Aurelius, receiving from the senate Imperial power, generously in the beginning divided it with Verus, his adopted brother.---“Dato igitur imperio, et indulta tribunitia potestate pro  
“consulatus honore delato, Verum vocari praecepit, suum in eum  
“transferens nomen, quum antea Commodus vocaretur.” (Jul. Capitolini Verus Imp. cap. iv.).

THIS was four years after his consulship, which cardinal Noris places in the 161st year of our era; the year when Ant. Pius died: But from hence, as well as other inscriptions and medals, appears the mistake of that learned man, in saying, that M. Aurelius communicated to him all Imperial titles except P. M. As, in matters of antiquity, we should all be cautious of general assertions, for the greatest men are not safe when they deal in negatives.

THAT the date of his empire run on with his tribunitial power, appears from his medals; in none of which, nor in any inscription that I have seen, does his TRIB. POT. exceed  $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ , which confirms the correction the learned have bestowed on Capitolinus's XI years of his Imperial life; the difference between IX and XI, being only a transposition of an I.

IN this second consulship he was colleague to M. Aurelius for the third time, in which year Commodus was born: But according to Capitolinus, though not so in the tables, he must have been consul some years before the death of Ant. Pius [*b*]. Some learned men think seven years before, and that the number VII has been

[*f*] Jul. Capitolini, M. Anton. Philosophus, cap. vi. and xxvii.

[*g*] Capitolini Verus Imp. cap. iii.

[*b*] U. C. 906. A. D. 154. L. Aurel. Caes. Sextil. Later Coss. *Isaacson*.  
U. C. 906. A. D. 156. Antonin. Caes. Sext. Lat. Coss. *Helvic*.

neglected for a virgule betwixt the sentences, “ Consul est factus  
“ cum Sextilio Laterano v interjectis annis, cum Marco fratre  
“ iterum consul factus est.” Capitol. Verus Imp. cap. iii. However  
that be, by history it appears, that the number of his Tribunitial  
power measured his Imperial years; and his second consulship,  
according to Mediobarbus, is joined with the beginning of his Tribu-  
nitial power, and so upwards to his third Consulship.

THE most remarkable thing in this inscription, is his single epi-  
thet ARMENIACUS, which proves it to have been his fourth year; all  
his family titles being suitable to the history of Adrian’s adoption of  
Anton. Pius on his father’s death [i]: For in the east, the Pro-  
consul and Lieutenant carried on the war, which broke out on  
Anton. Pius’s death, before Lucius Verus went thither; in all, he  
staid only four years, and the war lasted only five [k].

ON the third year of his reign, about the middle of the Par-  
thian war, Lucilla, whom he espoused in the beginning, was sent  
to be married to him in the east [l]. Her father M. Aurelius  
accompanied her to Brundisium, from whence he returned to Rome,  
to defeat the invidious calumny spread in his absence, that he went  
only out of envy to share the glory of his son in law’s conquests;  
before there could be any foundation for such an aspersion, the  
war against the Parthians must have made some progress; particu-  
larly Armenia seems to have been reduced this year, whence he  
obtained the title of ARMENIACUS; for had this happened the  
fourth summer of the war, or the third and half year of their reign,  
with the title of Armeniacus would have been joined Imp.  $\overline{\text{iii}}$ . in-  
stead of Imp. II.

TOWARDS the end of this war, he was styled Parthicus, Me-  
dicus, and Pater Patriae [m]. If the war had been finished, all those  
titles would have been added in the inscription with TRIB. POT. V.

[i] Jul. Capitol. Anton. Pius, cap. iv. Verus Imp. cap. ii.

[k] Jul. Capit. Verus Imp. cap. vii. M. Anton. Philosoph. cap. xiii. cum notis  
Casauboni.

[l] Jul. Capitol. M. Antonin. Philosophus, cap. ix.

[m] Jul. Capit. M. Anton. Philos. cap. ix. 12. Verus Imp. cap. vii.



IMP. IIII. but as it is only TRIB. POT. IIII with IMP. II. it must have been dedicated in the beginning of the fourth year, before the colony could hear of his being intituled IMP. IIII. in case that was renewed to him on the opening every campaign.

THIS account of the matter is confirmed from an Inscription by the town of Ofimo, famous for Belisarius' siege, to L. Verus [n], with the the titles of TRIB. POT. IIII. COS. II. without that of Armeniacus. Now since the Aurelian family was of Languedoc, the grandfather of Anton. Pius being of Nîmes [o], and the city of Narbonne was burned in the beginning of the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus ; I imagine, that, in gratitude for a contribution towards rebuilding it, the colony erected this inscription by way of compliment upon the marriage of L. Verus with Lucilla, Daughter of M. Aurelius, and on the progress of the Roman arms in Armenia.

[n] Gruter. p. xxv. 8. edit. Amstel.

[o] Jul. Capit. Anton. Pius, cap. i.

XXVII. *An Intaglio of Antinous, under the Figure of Mercury, upon a Cornelian, explained by Mr. Bowman.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 19, 1735-6.

**I**N the Strozzi collection at Rome, there is an Intaglio upon a Cornelian, of a Mercury, with his Caduceus in his left hand, while his right is raised towards his mouth in a very pensive attitude. Lord Effex bought the stone from the present D. Strozzi, the Pope's nephew, and Captain of his Guards, who is so extravagant and

and expensive in his pleasures, that he is thought to have sold some of the real antiques, and substituted copies by Costranza in their room, for which reason the Duchess his mother shews them in person. This stone was given to Sir Hugh Smithson (now his Grace the Duke of Northumberland) by Lord Effex; and from various circumstances appears to be the original itself, for which it was bought, upon the opinion of the best connoisseurs in Rome at that time. It must be owned, that Costranza copies antiques with great accuracy, as may be judged from one of his Medusa's; but here the workmanship, considering the sweetness of the original, has a very different air from our Mercury, which is upon a stone round in the back, without much transparency, such as he never chuses for shewing his work; nor does the Greek word behind the figure look to be modern: It is ANTINOOC, which shews the Mercury to be intended for Adrian's favourite.

WITHOUT enlarging upon what the learned have said concerning this celebrated figure, I shall only, for its explication, venture a few conjectures.

ANTINOUS seems chiefly to have been deified under the name of Mercury; for this deity is often represented with the well known beautiful head of Antinous. On this account, as well as for his beauty, is he a Bacchus; whose guardian Mercury was, first in assisting Jupiter's amour with his mother, and then in delivering him to his nurse Leucothoë. Accordingly we find him an assistant in several bacchanals, but particularly in Plate 69, Vol. i. of the Museum Florentinum: Where we see him with Antinous's head, carrying an infant Bacchus in his bosom.

ON this account too, Antinous is taken for an Apollo, a Sol, and a Lunus; for Mercury was an attendant of the Muses, and in Arcadia had a temple in common with Apollo. On one medal of Antinous, there is a Mercury with a Pegasus; on another, he is riding; on a third, he bridles Pegasus reared up: So that I humbly conceive all representations of Antinous, under the emblems of these dieties, to have been only secondary to his principal



character of a Mercury. Accordingly, in quality of Pan's father, with all his pastoral attributes, he is represented on a medal of Antinous; probably in allusion to the tranquillity of Adrian's reign: And for the same reason, some of his medals, on the reverse, have a Ram, which was sacred to Mercury, as the protector of shepherds.

THE reason why Adrian chose to deify Antinous under the name of Mercury, preferably to all other deities, I think, appears from his own character, compared with that of this God in particular; as men still but too often figure the Supreme Being suitably to their personal tempers, it was natural for the Antients, out of the consistory of heaven, to chuse the protector that suited them most.

MERCURY was reputed the inventor of arts, of grammar, eloquence, music, and geometry. Adrian pretended to excell in all sciences, by encouraging some learned men, and derogating from the merit of others. He was particularly fond of poetry; which seems the reason why the attributes of Apollo are joined to his Mercury: Whence, in his Villa near Tivoli, in imitation of those in Greece, he built a Lyceum, an academy, and Prytaneum. These were commonly attended with Palaestrae, in memory of Lotta, Mercury's daughter, in which were erected terms in honour of Mercury, the inventor of all exercises. These Hermathenae were also put in the libraries of learned men, and came originally from Egypt, being introduced at Rome by Numa Pompilius; because, without Religion, no laws can restrain men from encroaching upon their neighbour, for Hermes was the same with Jupiter Terminalis; and every one knows, that the custom of marking the limits of lands was Egyptian, whence it was borrowed by Moses and Plato.

THAT Antinous was particularly deified under the Name of president in gymnical exercises, appears from the passage of Saint Jerome, "*Cui et gymnicus agone exercetur.*" Adrian was fond of magic, and according to Plato and other authors, Mercury taught the Egyptians geometry, and astrology, and soothsaying, and was  
imputed

imputed the Prince of Necromancy. Accordingly, in Fig. 6. Plate 70. Vol. i. of the *Museum Florentinum*, he is conjuring a Hercules out of Hell, in the quality of  $\psi\chi\alpha\pi\omicron\mu\pi$  and  $\psi\chi\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma$ . he maintained the Correspondence betwixt the upper and neither world. Adrian wanted a respite of his life, and is thought to have sacrificed his favourite for a prolongation of it. In this point Dio Cassius is express. It was an antient persuasion, that the voluntary death of a friend could procure longevity, by adding those years to the living, which were resigned by the deceased. In allusion to this several classical expressions are to be understood; and in Scripture, the contrast of a friend's expiation for the life of a just man is compared to our Saviour's atonement for his enemies.

SPARTIAN's account of Antinous's death is more undetermined. Cap. iv. "Antinorum suum, dum per Nilum navigat Adrianus, "perdidit: quem muliebriter flevit, de quo varia fama est; aliis, "eum devotum pro Adriano afferentibus; aliis, quod et forma "ejus ostentat, et nimia voluptas Adriani; et Graeci quidem vo- "lenti Adriano eum consecraverunt oracula per eum dari afferentes, "quae Adrianus ipse composuisse jactatur." Even in this other suspicion of Adrian's grief for his death, there is this reason for his being deified under a Mercury, that Hermaphrodite was his daughter by Venus; and therefore the Greek sycophants, who deified him to please this Emperor, might allude to his catamitical pleasures with that favourite: at least we all know, that Mercury was Jupiter's favourite, and purveyor-general of his lust.

HE was deified in Egypt by Greeks, who supplied all cities with fabulous originals, and raised many a man up to heaven; and to judge by the several pieces of workmanship, all the cities of Greece and Egypt outvied one another in beautiful copies of Antinous, to flatter his master. From a Greek inscription in Gruter, by one of his prophets, we find Antinous was enthroned in the synod of the Egyptian Gods; and one would imagine, he sat there in the character of an Anubis, from a Gem in Tab. 71. of the 1st Vol.



of the Museum Florentinum; where an Anubis is praying, while Mercury shews him a Ram's head. But, as some think, this is only to shew, that Mercury was the author of the worship of Anubis; so Mercury seems to have been a superior divinity; because, according to Cicero, the Egyptians had a Mercury, son of the Nile, whom none dared to name; in the same manner as the Jews had their unutterable Jehovah.

I DARE say, that as the Emperor had a mind for it, the Egyptians made his favourite a compliment of the greatest deity in their calendar: But in the Greek system, none so well as Mercury could suit the notion of Antinous's being an expiatory sacrifice for the health and long years of the Emperor. The pensive figure in this Intaglio represents him, as I take it, in the act of beginning to execute that commission in the regions below, by asserting the merit of his death, in Adrian's behalf. All the shades of dead people are represented with a melancholy air. Antinous, when he went to intercede with the fatal sisters for his master's life, assumed the office of a Mercury. This Mercury, by his robes, appears in the execution of a commission; and, by his thoughtful look, that commission was of more than ordinary importance. Lest the figure should really be mistaken for a Mercury, the artist, by the name, shewed, that he intended it for a Mercurial Antinous.

GORE, in his explication of this figure in the Florentine Museum, takes it for a *Mercurios logos*, as he calls it, reasoning about some abstruse point of philosophy. This, I own, is a philosophical explication, but Adrian, I am afraid, found other employment for Antinous's meditations; and here made him reason about the magical history of his death: For the same reason the figure may pass for no more than an Harpocrates; whereas the elate hand towards the mouth is only an emblem of that God joined to the Mercury, expressing the silence due to his mysterious commission. Conjectural fancies in these matters are free to all men. But it is not the first time that Mercury has been mistaken for a meditating philosopher; whereas, according to Lucian, as nomenclator to Charon, he is only reading, on a scroll or register, the names of the  
dead,

dead, and the fatal destiny of the living. Perhaps, in the construction of Adrian's Villa, we should find something relating to this matter, if the time of its being finished were as well known as that of Antoninus's death; for by an extraordinary caprice, he had a regular Infernum in it, now shut up under ground, which one would scarce expect from a prince who did not think that he really had a good friend there before him. But I have already dealt enough in conjecture, and hope the Society will excuse my not having been at the trouble of regular quotations in an affair of common mythology.

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XXVIII. *On the Trajan and Antonine Pillars at Rome,*  
*by Martin Folkes, Esquire.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 5, 1735-6.

THE Trajan column at Rome, is all of white marble, and consists of 30 stones, whereof 8 make the pedestal, 19 the pillar, and 3 the basis of the statue that stands on the top.

THE side of the lowest plinth of the pedestal contains 20 English feet and three inches.

THIS plinth, with the small members above it, consists of 2 stones, whose lengths are consequently 20 feet, 3 inches; and their breadth half as much. Their common height or thickness being 4 feet, 5  $\frac{7}{8}$  inches. The lower part of the door is in one of the longer sides of one of these stones, and their joint is consequently at right angles with it.

UPON



UPON these stones lie two other, whose joint is at right angles to that of the former, and the common height is 5 f. 6  $\frac{7}{8}$  i. These stones finish the door, and their upper edge range with the bottom of the inscriptions.

Two stones more rest upon these, their joint height being again turned at right angles, their height 4 f. 5  $\frac{2}{8}$  i. and their upper edge reaches to the bottom of the cornice of the pedestal.

Two more finish the pedestal, their joint turned as before, and containing the cornice and whatever is below the torus of the column, including a sort of plinth carved out of the same stones, and their height is 6 f. 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  i.

THE several heights of these stones added together, make the height of the pedestal, and forementioned plinth, 20 f. 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  i.

IN this pedestal are 32 steps, all which are cut in the solid stones that built it; viz. 6 in the first range, including the step in at the door; 9 in the second, 7 in the third, and 10 in the fourth.

UPON the pedestal lies one single stone, which makes the torus of the column, and the beginning of the shaft, and there is in it 8 steps with a newel in the middle, all formed of the same piece, whose height is 5 f. and an inch.

UPON this are laid 17 neatly cylindrical pieces one upon another, 8 steps and a newel in each; their height are not accurately equal, but respectively as follows: 5 f. 0  $\frac{6}{8}$  i.—5 f. 11.—5 f. 0  $\frac{6}{8}$  i.—4 f. 11  $\frac{7}{8}$  i.—4 f. 11  $\frac{6}{8}$  i.—5 f. 0  $\frac{4}{8}$  i.—4 f. 11 i.—5 f. 0  $\frac{6}{8}$  i.—4 f. 11  $\frac{5}{8}$  i.—5 f. 0  $\frac{7}{8}$  i.—5 f. 0  $\frac{6}{8}$  i.—4 f. 10  $\frac{3}{8}$ —4 f. 10  $\frac{7}{8}$  i.—4 f. 10  $\frac{5}{8}$ —4 f. 11  $\frac{3}{8}$  i.—4 f. 11  $\frac{4}{8}$ —5 f. 1 i.

UPON these lies one more, making the capital of the pillar; it is 4 f. 11  $\frac{6}{8}$  i. and the side of the square surface on the top, is 14 f. 0  $\frac{7}{8}$  i. This stone, like the 18 preceding, contains also 8 steps on the inside.

THE several heights of these 19 stones, added together, give the height of the column, from the bottom of the torus to the top of the cimatum of the capital, 95 f. 0  $\frac{1}{8}$  i. to which adding the former height of the pedestal 20 f. 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  i. we shall have the whole height  
from

from the bottom 115 f.  $10 \frac{5}{8}$  i. The stones are all laid without mortar, and still stand extremely firm and upright; and the joints are of an astonishing fineness.

THESE measures were taken by Mr. Bowman and myself, measuring with an exact two-foot rule, and holding a plum line to every stone for the directing our measure upright: And I believe, we may be pretty confident, we do not differ from the truth, an inch in the whole height, which is much nearer than could have been determined by a plum line from the top, by reason of the stretching, swelling or shrinking of the line.

THE whole number of steps to the balcony, on the top of the capital, is, from what has been said, 184.

THE first stone above the balcony, is in height, 4 f.  $11 \frac{3}{8}$  i. and its diameter in the widest place, where a moulding runs round it at the bottom, is 10 f.  $1 \frac{1}{4}$  i.; the thickness of the shell in that place, is 1 f.  $2 \frac{1}{2}$  i. and the length of the highest step 2 f.  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  i. which leaves for the diameter of the newel 2 f.  $11 \frac{1}{2}$  i. which seems to be the diameter of the newel all the way down.

THE stone above this is in height 3 f.  $8 \frac{1}{2}$  i. above which there is one more, whose height we could not measure, and which immediately sustains the brass statue on the top; but I should judge it to be taller somewhat than either of the others. It is however modern, and so of less consequence than the rest.

By this height of 115 f.  $10 \frac{5}{8}$  i. from the ground to the top of the capital, it should seem, this pillar was designed to have been 120 Roman feet high, for dividing the height by that number, the quotient comes out almost  $\frac{966}{1000}$  of the English foot, differing little more than  $\frac{1}{1000}$  of a foot, from Mr. Greaves's accurate measure of the Colotean or Cosution foot at Rome, esteemed by him and others as the exactest model of the old foot, and as such engraved, as it seems, on the marble, in the court of the capital.

EUTROPIUS, in his Roman history, sets down the height of this column CXLIV f. which, if taken from any measure, must mean, including,



including the base of the statue and statue itself, which might well make together 24 f.

PETRO S. BARTOLI's measure of the height, in his book of the description of this column, differs about 17 inches from ours. I can assign no reason for this difference; but our measures were taken with great care as we went up, and verified as we came down.

It is said by some that the bas-reliefs on the shaft of this pillar increase in size upwards, in order to appear of the same size below; but this is not true, and I had an opportunity of satisfying myself from the plaister cast of the whole pillar, kept at the French academy of painting and sculpture at Rome, where examining a piece very near the bottom, I measured several of the fairest figures, particularly that of the Emperor speaking from the Suggestum to the soldiers, and found his height 25 inches. I also measured several figures towards the middle, and some in the very last round of the screw; and among them all, the largest I met with was 28 inches, and that far from the top, and a particular irregularity; the general size is 25, and very few come up to 26 inches. The spaces between the spires of the screw are a little irregular. I found them in some places 3 f. 9 i. and in others 4 f. 4 i. but that without any regularity of increase upwards, the narrowest of all those I measured being within 10 feet of the top.

THE pillar of M. Aurelius, commonly called the Antonine, is built a good deal in the same manner as the Trajan; but as it has suffered much more by time and accidents, it is difficult to be so exact in the dimensions of it. The pedestal, however, so far differs, that the newel of the circular stairs and steps come down, not only to the bottom, but many feet below, to the foundation, and the outside of the present pedestal is a case over the old one. There are in the pedestal from the floor 37 steps, and its height from the same is 25 f. 8  $\frac{5}{8}$  i. Above the pedestal are, as in the Trajan pillars, 19 stones, in each of which are 8 steps, and the sum of their heights, added together as in the other, is 97 f. 0  $\frac{7}{8}$  i. to which adding

ding the height of the pedestal 25 f.  $8\frac{5}{8}$  i. we have the whole height from the floor 122 f.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  i. and the number of the steps 189, besides those that go towards the foundation.

THE highest of these stones, which make the capital, and on which the rails of the balcony stand, is in thickness 5 f. and the side of the square of the cimatum is 17 f.  $4\frac{3}{8}$  i.

ON the capital stands, as on the other, a cylindrical stone of 6 f.  $0\frac{1}{2}$  i. and in the diameter at the bottom, with the moulding, 12 f.  $7\frac{7}{8}$  i. and the thickness of the shell in the same place is 2 f. 2 i. and the length of the highest step 2 f.  $5\frac{3}{4}$  i. bearing for the diameter of the newel, which I take to be the same all the way down, 3 f.  $4\frac{3}{8}$ . There is in this stone presently a retraction of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  i. and near the top another of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  i. Upon this stands only one more, which supports the brazen figure of Saint Paul, now placed upon it.

THIS pillar has been much shattered in several places; so that new steps have been put in, and some stones have been broke in several pieces, but I call that one which was evidently so at first.

I FOUND the shell of the pillar from 20 to 21 i. whence I conclude its diameter to be about 11 f. 10 i. and I take it to have little or no diminution upwards.

As this manner of getting the diameter of the shaft, by adding the thickness of the shell, diameter of the newel and length of the steps together seems to be imperfect, I attempted verifying it by the shadow, and made it that way better than  $11\frac{1}{2}$  f. and I could scarce find any sensible difference between the breadth of the shadow of the upper and lower parts; whence I was confirmed in my opinion, that this pillar has suffered little or no diminution.

The pillar of Antoninus Pius, now commonly called of Monte Citorio, is now lying along; the shaft of one piece of about 48 English feet long, as I grossly measured it; the pedestal of one piece of marble was dug up not far from it.



XXIX. *Observations on the Brass Equestrian Statue at the Capitol in Rome, occasioned by a small Brass Model, shewn the Society, by Martin Folkes, Esquire.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 7, 1736.

THE brass equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, now in the area of the Capitol, was found in a vineyard, near the Scala Santa, at Saint John's Lateran, where it lay neglected for many years upon the ground, till Pope Sixtus IV. (soon after the year 1470) set it upon a handsome pedestal, with an inscription, in the open place before the Lateran church; and there it remained till the Pontificate of Paul III. who, about 1538, caused it to be removed to the place where it now stands, on a pedestal adorned by the hand of Michael Angelo: The marble whereof it is made having been brought from the Remains of Trajan's Forum. These particulars are related by Flaminius Vacca the sculptor; and he further adds, that as the statue was found in the ground belonging to the Lateran church, the members of the same went to law with the people of Rome about it; and he intimates this suit was not determined in his time; but that he had heard the gentlemen of the church made a demand of it, in writing, every year.

THE same account of the removal of this statue from the Lateran, is also given by Aldrovandus, in his little book concerning the antique statues of Rome, printed at Venice, in 1558; and he describes the Emperor saying, that “*sta in habito e gesto di pacificatore.*” That he is in a pacifying posture, is inferred, I presume, from the posture of his right hand, which is perfectly expressed in the little Bronze. He takes notice it was not then perfectly agreed, whose  
statue

statue it was, for he himself calls it the statue of Marco Aurelio Filosofo et Imperatore; he adds, “ dicono ch’ ella fosse di Antonino Pio, altri di L. Vero, altri di Septimo Severo.”

THE setting up this statue at the Lateran by Sixtus IV. is also confirmed by Donatus in these words, “ M. Aurelii statuat aeneam, equestrem, et olim inauratam, humili ac fordido loco jacentem, in area Lateranensi, augustiore loco reposuit, quam postea Paulus III. in area Capitolina, pulcherrimaque basi Parii mar-moris collocavit, adhuc ferentem spiritus inusitatae artis.” And lastly, the same is mentioned in the Inscription on the pedestal of the statue itself, as follows;

“ PAULUS III. P. M. statuat aeneam, equestrem, a S. P. Q. R. Marco Antonino Pio, etiam tum viventi, variis dein urbis casibus everfam, et a Sixto IV. P. M. ad Lateranam Basilicam repositam, ut memoriae opt. principis confuleret, patriaeque decora atque ornamenta restitueret ex humiliore loco in aream Capitolinam transf-tulit atque dicavit, An. Salutis MDLVIII.”

FROM which inscription one should infer the figure was then taken commonly for that of Antoninus Pius, though since, I believe, universally allowed to be of his successor Marcus Aurelius. The gilding mentioned by Donatus is still visible in some parts, and the whole makes a very noble appearance, being considerably bigger than life, as I was satisfied from a cast of the head in the Cassina of the Ludovician gardens, which I then measured, though I have since mislaid the note of its dimensions.

IT is not agreed among the curious, whether this statue is cast, or hammered and wrought; Sandraart, who particularly examined it, is of the former opinion; but F. Montfaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, speaking of the same, informs us, that it is, “ Opus egregium, quod malleo ductum, non fusum esse, periti arbitrantur.” Which latter opinion may possibly be somewhat confirmed by what Pliny says, Lib. XXXIV. c. vii. that the art



of casting brass, he means, I suppose, for large figures, was lost in his time; he is speaking of the Colossal figure made for Nero by Zenodorus, and says, “*Mirabamur in officina, non modo ex argilla similitudinem insignem, verum ex parvis admodum furculis quod primum operis instar fuit. Ea statua indicavit interuisse fundendi aeris scientiam.*”

It may not be improper here just to remark, that this art of casting large figures in brass, was revived among the moderns by Benevento Celleni, a citizen of Florence, and a sculptor, scarce inferior to the best of the ancients; whose first considerable specimen of this art, was that noble figure of Perseus, standing upon the dead body of Medusa, now in the Colonnade under the great gallery, and which is cast of one piece, as he informs us in the memoirs of his life, written by himself with great spirit, and lately published from his MS. by Signior Gaetano, lately deceased at Florence.

BUT to return to the Statue of M. Aurelius. There is a further account of it in Sandraart, but I am ignorant whence he had the relation; that this statue being famous in the time of the Goths, was removed by Totila, to the port of Ostia, to be carried away by sea; but that Belisarius, among other rich spoils, retook it, and restored it to the City. This story, I fear, labours under too many difficulties of several sorts for any great credit to be given to it; and as Sandraart quotes no author, it likely has no better foundation than the relation of some Antiquary or Cicerone, who shewed the curiosities of the Capitol. What may be more depended on is, that this statue was commonly known in Rome about the thirteenth century, and that it then was near the Lateran church, in the place probably where Flaminius Vacca mentions it to have been dug up; and therefore, this finding or digging of it up must have happened before that time.

THE foundation of this last particular, that the statue was commonly known in that time, is a little book, first printed by F. Mountsaucon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, and bearing all the marks

of

of that age. It is a treatise composed by a very ignorant Monk upon the antiquities of Rome, or rather the wonderful things there, as he calls them ; and there is a whole chapter concerning the history of the brazen horse, that is near the Lateran at Rome, the substance of which, is as follows :

“ THIS horse is said to be Constantine’s, but it is not. The truth is this. In the time of the consuls, a powerful King came from the east into Italy, and besieged Rome on the side by the Lateran, putting the city to great streights, when a certain soldier, of noble aspect and great valour, very bold and prudent, stood up and asked of the Consuls and Senate a reward, if he should deliver them from their present tribulation ; they readily promised him what he would ; and he demanded a large sum of money, and a memory of himself, by a horse of brass gilt. He then said unto them, Rise at midnight and be in arms, and keep watch within the walls to do what I shall order you ; and they did accordingly. He then got on horseback without a saddle, and carried with him a scythe. Now he had observed for several nights the King to come for his necessities to the foot of a certain tree, at whose coming, an owl (Coconaia) perched thereon, always shrieked. He therefore went out of the city, and carried the scythe tied to him like a shield ; and when he heard the owl shriek, he came near, knowing the King was come, and he found him there. Those who were with the King, taking him for one of their own party, called to him to get from the King’s way ; but he not regarding them, came up to the King, and with great courage, despising them all, he seized the King and bore him away. And when he was come to the walls, he called out, Come forth and destroy the King’s army, for I have him fast prisoner. They therefore did as he commanded, and returned with a vast booty. And they paid the soldier what they had promised him, and set up for him the brazen horse gilt, with him sitting thereon without a saddle, his right hand extended, with which he took the King, and on the horse’s head a remembrance of the owl,  
whose



whose shrieking enabled him to get the victory ; and they set also under the horse's hoof the image of the King, who was of small stature, with his hands bound behind him, as he had taken him."

Now this relation, though composed of absurdity and nonsense, is yet considerable, as it gives a description of the statue, from one, who in all probability, had often seen it about 500 years since, and when there were some parts of it in being that are now no longer to be seen. The most remarkable is the figure of the man, with his arms tied behind him, and under the horse's hoof ; which one can hardly doubt was really there, when this author wrote, whose whole story is no more than an ignorant comment of a barbarous age, on what they observed about a statue they knew nothing of. As this figure is described under the hoof of the horse, "sub ungula," it must have stood or lain on that side where the hoof is raised, that is, on the right side ; and our writer's idea, that the right hand of the horseman is extended, as when he took his prisoner, seems to infer that figure so placed, as that the horseman's right hand might seem taking hold of him. Now it is very remarkable, that, in the little bronze of this statue, there is on the pedestal, on the right side of the horse, the plain mark of some other figure, that has formerly stood in that place.

WITH regard to the Cornu-copiae in the left hand of the Emperor, in the little bronze, it may require some examination, whether the like has ever been in the hand of the large statue at Rome : And here I wish I could charge my memory with the left hand of that figure, whether it is open or closed ; but this, I confess, I am not able to do ; if any other gentleman, who has seen it, can remember, I hope he will be so kind as to inform us of it ; in the mean time we can only consider it, as it appears in the prints ; all those I have of it, except one, represent the hand as distinctly open, and holding nothing in it. But one engraved long since, by John Baptista de Cavallieri, distinctly puts somewhat into his hand, which looks like two balls, but which may not possibly be the lower end of the

the Cornu-copiae represented in the little bronze. And I could further observe, whether, from our author above quoted, it does not appear probable, there was then somewhat in the left hand of the horseman, which is now wanting. His whole story is evidently invented from the sight of the statue; and he says, that the soldier went out with a scythe tied to him like a shield; which scythe it does not appear that he made any use of. Is it not therefore likely, that his imagination arose from somewhat that was then taken for a scythe in the statue, and that they supposed tied to him like a shield, that is, fixed to his left arm, along which the Cornu-copiae in the little Bronze seems to run? And if we may suppose, the Cornu-copiae he had formerly held, was already somewhat broken and imperfect when this author wrote; it is not impossible that in those ages of ignorance, as to all matters relating to true antiquity, a sort of crooked instrument, as the lower part of the Cornu-copiae seems to be, might be taken for part of a scythe, and so give occasion to that part of the story.

As to the owl on the head, it is no other than the forelock of the horse, turned up so, as, whether designedly or not, in one view represents that bird, as every one agrees who looks on it in that position. They, who suppose it to be done designedly, imagine the Horseman was an Athenian, and intended to express his country by that symbol.



XXX. *Notes on the Walls of ancient Rome. Communicated by Mr. Wray.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 6, 1756.

THE measure of the walls of antient Rome, is a point whereupon antiquaries have widely disagreed. The passage in Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. 5. to which they all refer, stands thus. "Moenia ejus collegere ambitu, Impp. Cenff.que Vespasianis, anno conditæ DCCCXXVI, passus XIII.M.CC." Lipsius adds another x, and makes the circuit ten miles larger: But this insertion has with very good reason been rejected by the succeeding critics. One of the best, Nardini, recites upon the occasion Dionys. Halicarn. who, in his Antiq. Lib. iv. makes Rome a small matter bigger than the ἀστὺ (the quarter of the citadel) of Athens, the measure of which Nardini gathers from Thucydides, lib. ii. cap. 13. where that part of the ἀστὺ, not shut in between the long wall and the Phaleric-wall (which both ran from the city towards the sea) is said to be XLIII stadia in length; and then supposing the part included between those walls to be some small matter less, under XL stadia, for example, he concludes, that the whole circuit of the ἀστὺ measured about 80 stadia = x.M. passus; a number by no means agreeing with the present text of Pliny, and which would make Rome exceed the ἀστὺ by nearly a third. But this antiquary should have consulted the scholiast upon his quotation from Thucydides, who makes the space between the two walls only xvii stadia, and the whole circuit, consequently LX stadia = vii.M.D passus. These passages from the two Greek authors, thus brought together, confirm the emendation of Pliny's numbers offered by Fabretti, in his Dissert. iii. De Aquaeductibus (though he never mentions the place in Thucydides); who, by the gentle alteration of x into v, reads, instead of XIII.M.CC passus, for the circuit of Rome, viii.M.CC passus = the circuit of the ἀστὺ + DCC passus, and exceeding it by less than a tenth part.

FABRETTI's map of the country about Rome, in the fore-cited work, is made upon this supposition of the measure of the walls. That learned and laborious Antiquary spent his life in enquiries of this kind, constantly travelling over the Campagna. How much rather is he therefore to be trusted, than the Critics, who sit in their studies, and settle the situation of places, which they never saw? And it is with good reason, that Lipsius cries out, in lib. De Magnitud. Rom. "Cur non Romae nunc paucos dies sum? Cur "non obambulo, video, metior? cur non cum viris doctis inibi "confero? Firmius fortasse certiusque definirem."

THESE disputes about the measure of the antient walls have nothing at all to do with the question about the actual size of Rome in its glory; that city, like London, at present, and all flourishing capitals of great kingdoms, was not to be estimated by the measure of its walls; the suburbs making far the greater part. Dion. Halicarn. says, they were prodigiously large, and that the walls were so built against, as hardly to be traced: yet Rome was not arrived at the heighth of its glory and magnitude in the time of Augustus, under whom Dionysius lived.

N. B. MR. WRAY, in a subsequent note, January 10th, 1765, informs us of a disingenuity of Mr. Danville, a member of the French Academy of inscriptions and belles lettres, and eminent for his geographical labours; who, in a Memoir of his, published the last year, in the xxxth Volume of the Transactions of that Academy, insists on this correction of Pliny's text, without taking any notice of what Fabretti had before suggested on this head (whose work he quotes however more than once) much less of those authorities, in support of the emendation, from the Greek authors above cited.



THIS, Mr. Wray thought proper to mention to the Society, in order to ascertain the date of the discovery of what is doubtless the true measure of the walls of Rome. At the same time acknowledging the obligation the lovers of Antiquity have to Mr. Danville for confirming this truth, by a careful consideration and measurement of the accurate and beautiful plan of Rome, published by Nolli in 1748.

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XXXI. *A Copy of a Letter from Florence; by Mr. John Talman, to the Dean of Christ Church; relating to the Italian Drawings.*

S I R,

I HAVE lately seen a collection of Drawings, without doubt, the finest in Europe, for the method and number of rare designs; nor is the price, considering the true value, at all too much. Mr. Envoy is of the same opinion, and has desired me to let an abstract of my catalogue, which I am making with all exactness, be copied out, to send to my Lord President.—I send an abstract with this post, as I have done to Mr. Topham.——

THIS collection belonged to Monsignor Marchetti, bishop of Arezzo, now in possession of Chevalier Marchetti of Pistora, nephew to the said bishop; which collection is to be sold. It consisteth of 16 volumes, folio, (14 inches broad, and 20 high) gilt, and bound in red Turkey leather: They were at first collected by the famous Father Resta, a Milanese, of the oratory of Philipppo Neri at Rome; a person

a person so well known in Rome, and all over Italy, for his skill in drawings, that it would be needless to say any more of him, than that these collections were made by him, and that through the whole work, he has abundance of observations (gathered by the application and experience of thirty years), no where else to be seen; every book being filled with Notes on each drawing, with several collections of those who have wrote the lives of Painters. The design of this work is to shew the rise and fall of painting in divers periods of time.

IN the Ist Vol. painting is divided into “*Pittura, nascente, crescente, et adulta.*” In the first page are the heads of those Popes, who reigned during those periods in the time of Gregory IX, 1227. containing twenty-one Popes. The IId, in the time of Innocent VI, 1352, containing fourteen Popes. The third period in the time of Paul II, 1464, containing five Popes. In the Index are all the names of the painters whose works are contained in this volume. It contains pages 69, and drawings 137, of the most considerable masters. In this book are Albert Durer, 2. Leonard de Vinci, 4. M. Angelo, 4. Andreas Mantegna, 23. P. Perugin, 6. Raph. Urbin, 7. Under every drawing is set down the master’s name, from whence it came, by whom given, and when.

The IId Vol. containeth the golden age, or painting compleat, with a copious Index; there are nine pages relating to the works of Buonareti, Raphael, Titian, and Correggio, the heads of the golden age. Leonardi da Vinci, as being the most antient, and first who gave light to this age, is placed by himself, and forms a close alone; but by way of introduction, to shew the drawing of this bright period, here are exhibited some specimens of the masters of the aforefaid four heads of grand families, viz. of Grilandia, master to M. Angelo; of John Bellini, master to Georgione and Titian; of P. Perugin, master to Raphael; of Andr. Mantegna, master to Correggio. The first drawing in this book, is the Ritratto of Bramantino, a Milanese painter, who, though properly belonging



to the former period, yet to do honour to the country of Father Resta, a Milanese, where he did so much in the art of painting as to be esteemed the introducer of the golden age into that city, is therefore placed in the front. Before the annotations is set the *Ritratto* of Father Resta, looking on this Vol. and as it were shewing it with great joy to Carlo Maratta: This drawing was made by the said Carlo, 1689, as his own hand-writing underneath shews.

THIS book contains 169 pages and 300 drawings. This age began in the pontificate of Julius II, and comprises that of Paul III, &c. This tome ends in the reign of Julius III. And the last design but one is a beautiful Cartel, containing the arms of that Pope, supported by the figures of Justice and Victory, to intimate that this age terminated triumphantly. The number of Drawings of the principal masters are, Andr. del Sarto, 6. B. Blandinelli, 6. Correggio, 5. Dan. di Voldigone, 9. Polidoro, 28. Parmeggiano, 16. Penno, 19. Raphael, 7. Titian, 6. Vasano, 4.

THE III<sup>d</sup> Vol. contains the practical or age of experience, beginning in the time of Pius IV. 1560, comprehending ten Popes, to 1591. The division is into three grand schools, Zuccari, Mutinano, and the Caracci; under which three heads, all the other masters are ranged. This book has 222 pages, 330 drawings.

VOL. IV. This is called the age of painting restored by Caracci. and is as it were a second part of the last school in Vol. III. — Pages 144. With an Appendix, 7 pages, and drawings 221.

VOL. V. This Volume, drawn more richly than the other four, is against Vasari, or Florentin Vasari against Bolonese Vasari. The title of this book is, “*Felfina vindicata*,” or, “*Felfina in aureo seculo argentea, in argenteo aurea*.” The last drawing in this book, is a victory of Correggio, to shew that Lombardy justly triumphs over Tuscany; pages 87, drawings all bordered with gold, 109.



VOL. VI. This contains the ancient paintings in the Mosaicks at Rome, and elsewhere, all by one hand, number 24, bound in parchment, gilt back and sides.

VOL. VII. Curious landskips and views of towns, with borders of gold. Pages 60, drawings 96. Bound in plain parchment, no index. These drawings are all of the great masters.

VOL. VIII. Saggio Dei Secoli (curiously bound in blue Turkey, gilt) or specimens of painting for five centuries, viz. 1300 to 1700 inclusive, beginning with the story of Coriolanus, done by Caracci, from the baths of Titus at Rome, and a most curious miniature of Ciambue: No Index. The drawings are bordered with gold. Pages 110, drawings 79. The two last drawings are of Caracci; as well as that in the beginning after Corial; for which reason there is wrote underneath: "Let us end with the best, since that, Finis habet rationem optimi, et sic respondent ultima primis."

VOL. IX. This is called, Senators in the Cabinet, or, The cabinet council of the grand Judges of art, to whose works, exhibited in this book, all causes of appeal are to be carried. These senators are Leonardi da Vinci, M. Angelo, Andr. del Sarto, Georgione, Titian, Raphael and Correggio, for the grand tribunal, or high court of Parliament, for the golden age. For the prerogative court, in the beginning of the silver age, or Hilary term, the judges are Zuccari; none are permitted to plead in these courts, but such as are truly worthy and experienced persons: Lanfranco, with his great Correggiescan and Carracescan genius, is the last of those in this book, and of the cabinet council. His school opens the grand senate of both houses of parliament, and courts of common law: But Hannibal Caracci, by a special privilege, can vote in all courts, and in all causes. The drawings 43, all bordered with gold, and of the prime masters only. Pages 24. No Index.

VOL. X. Saggio Dei Secoli, shewing specimens of paintings in the early ages, beginning with the drawing of a Greek, in the time of Ciambue and Giotto. Drawings 150, bordered with Gold; the Index not finished.

VOL. XII.



VOL. XI. and XII. Two books full of curious drawings of all sorts of masters, for 200 years; designed for entertainment, without any regard to the history of painting; though every drawing hath notes to it. In the first book, pages 111, drawings 144. In the second, pages 70, drawings 172; among which are a great many of Raphael's, and the other great masters.

VOL. XIII. A small, but very excellent series of drawings, placed in order of time, and beginning with P. Perugino, 1446, and brought down to the present time. Here, among the drawings of Raphael, is one, which the father calls the *Oriental Pearl*. Pages 40, drawings 72; adorned with gold.

VOL. XIV. This book contains "*Schemata prima Tholi, magni monumenta laboris,*" or several designs for the Cupola of Parma, viz. three different designs for the assumption, and two for the apostles, all in red chalk, by Correggio. Pages 7, drawings 5; with large notes.

VOL. XV. This Volume has more designs for the said Cupola, of the hand of Correggio: and with abundance of notes.

VOL. XVI. This Volume contains a variety of designs of all the great masters, as of Correggio, his disciples and imitators, &c. In the title page is an emblem, with this motto, "*Nostri quondam libamen amoris.*" Pages 65, drawings 219. Of the principal masters, Del Sarto, 4. Procacino, 3. Baroci, 4. Bernin, 2. Correggio, 35. Lod. Caracci, 2. Anab. Caracci, 12. Polidoro, 4. Parmeggiano, 19. Cortona, 3. Raphael Urbin, 10. A. Sacchi, 2. Titian, 4. Zuccari, 5. The last drawing but one is a lofty and noble portico, called the *Academical*; in which are represented Father Resta, and several other figures, bringing this collection to the bishop, who is sitting in a chair with the Cavalier Marchetti, his nephew, standing by him; to whom the bishop, by laying his hand on his heart, shews the great satisfaction he has in being the possessor of so noble a collection, which consists of 2111 drawings.

THIS

THIS great drawing is of Passeri, and finely coloured. Total number of drawings in this whole collection, excepting those books where there are no Indexes: Leon. da Vinci, 12. M. Angelo, 27. Andr. Mantegna, 23. Perugino, 6. R. Urbino, 25. Andr. del Sarto, 10. B. Bandinelli, 6. Corregio, 63. Dandi vol Terra, 6. Gorgione, 7. Jul. Romano, 15. Perdinone, 9. Polidoro, 32. Parmens, 35. Perino, 21. Titian, 12. Bernin, 14. Sacchi, 8. The 5 Caracci, 74. Domenchino, 45. Guido, 6. Della Bella, 12. Callot, many. In all, with the rest mentioned in this catalogue, 527. For which 2111 drawings, they demand three thousand crowns, or 750*l.* sterling: They are worth any money.

J. T.

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XXXII. *Extracts relating to a Statue of Venus.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 5, 1761.

MR. WRAY informed the Society, that Mr. Mackinlay, in a letter to the Earl of Morton, dated Rome, January 9th, 1761, gives an account, that in September last, a Venus of most exquisite workmanship, was dug up in the Mons Coelius, near the Clivo Scauri, at Rome. It is in the possession of the Marquis Carnovallia, who gave fifty Scudi to the workmen, their full demand, on the half of the value, according to agreement; though it is worth some thousands. It is full six feet high, in the same attitude of the Venus de Medicis, with this difference, that she holds her right hand before her breast, and her left supports a light drape-  
 pery.



perly before. On the base, which is of one piece with the statue, and quite entire, is the following inscription.

ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ  
ΕΝ ΤΡΟΙΑΔΙ  
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ  
ΜΗΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ  
ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Read at the SOCIETY, of ANTIQUARIES April 2, 1761.

**I**N a letter from Mr. Jenkyns to the Secretary, dated Rome, January 17th, 1761, he informs us, that at the first reading of this inscription, the Dilettanti seemed greatly to interest themselves, from its being understood to express, “copied from the “Trojan Venus;” whereas he believes it means, copied from the Venus of the Trojan country. Had the former been the case, he thinks it would have given a strong proof of the excellence of the art of sculpture at the time that Troy was in being; but, according to the latter explanation, it may admit of a considerable difference; for many cities in the Trojan country subsisted some centuries, probably, after the destruction of Troy. He is nevertheless of opinion, that the statue alluded to was of the greatest excellence, and of a very early age.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 9, 1761.

**B**Y the minutes read last Thursday, we were informed, “that “a statue of Venus of most exquisite workmanship was dug “up in September last, in the Mons Coelius, near the Clivo, “at Rome; that it is in the same attitude as the Venus of Medicis, “but with some drapery added; and that the name of the sculptor “is inscribed on the base of it:” to which particulars I shall desire leave to offer a few notes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the theatre built by M. Scaurus, the powerful son-in-law of Sylla, when he was Aedile, was the largest

ever erected, whose pit could contain eighty thousand people, and which was adorned with three thousand brass statues [p]; yet as it was only temporary, and to remain scarcely a month in use [q], we need not be surprized that the place where it stood is not mentioned in antient authors: But the situation of the magnificent House of this rich and expensive Roman is most accurately described by Asconius [r], who says it stood in the Palatium, at the end of the first street, on the left hand as they descended from the Sacra Via. “Demonstrasse  
“ vobis memini me, hanc domum in ea parte palatii esse, quae, cum  
“ ab Sacra via descenderis, et per proximum vicum, qui est ab finis-  
“ tra parte, prodieris, posita est.” And it was this grand structure which probably gave name to the Scauri Clivus, mentioned by Saint Gregory, as I find him quoted in Nardini [s], which Clivus, Nardini places indeed on Mons Coelius, but on that part of it next the Mons Palatinus.

ROSSI, in his “Raccolta di Statue,” Pl. 144, gives a print of a Venus in the attitude mentioned by Mr. Mackinlay’s letter, except that the drapery is fringed, and part of it is thrown over her right arm; and that her head is dressed like that of the Belvedere Apollo; a Dolphin is also by her, as in the Medicean Venus, but without the little Cupids. This Statue is said to be “in casa di  
“ Ignatio Configlieri.”

AND Mr. Richardson [t] mentions “a small Venus in the attitude  
“ of that of Medicis, only ’tis cloathed from the waist down-  
“ wards, and has the head dressed as the Apollo of the Belvedere.” It was in the “Villa of Cay. Caffali, in monte Coelio,” the very part of Rome where the statue of the Marquis Carnovallia was found.

[p] C. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. 24. § 7.

[q] Ib. cap. 2.

[r] In Cic. pro M. Scauro Orat.

[s] Lib. vii. Epist. 13. apud F. Nardini Rom. Vet. Lib. iii. cap. 7.

[t] An Account of Statues, &c. Engl. p. 285. Fr. p. 527.



MR. RICHARDSON also says [u], that “ in the Palazzo del Duca di Bracciano, which was of the prince Don Livio Odescalchi, there was a Venus of Medicis, her bosom covered with a thin drapery, and so down to below the knee, on the right side, the left not quite so low. This drapery is exquisite——’tis much larger than that of Medicis.” He had also “ seen other Venus’s in this attitude, and thus covered: one, if not more, in the gardens of Aldobrandini.”

THE learned Gentleman’s [x] observation, to whom we are obliged for this communication, that the number of the statues of Venus was greatly increased at Rome after the exaltation of the Julian family, who would be thought to have descended from her, is corroborated by the drapery given to some of them; which was undoubtedly done by the directions of Romans who employed the sculptors; for Grecian Artists, unless prevented, would have concealed nothing; as Pliny informs us [y]: “ Graeca res est, nihil velare.”

THE statuary having inscribed his name on it, is a proof, that he himself thought it excellent, as the great connoisseur the Baron de Stofch observes in his preface to the *Gemmae Antiquae*, graved by B. Picart [z], and who has there given us a list of such inscribed names he had seen himself, some of which are not mentioned in the catalogue of Fr. Junius, as is neither Menophantus the sculptor of this Venus.

IF any thing here said may merit to be annexed to the above-mentioned Minute, it will be esteemed an honor conferred on, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

Laurence Pountney Lane,  
Feb. 25, 1761.

CHA. ROGERS.

[u] Ib. Engl. p. 176, 7. Fr. p. 280, 1.

[x] Mr. Wray.

[y] Lib. xxxiv. cap. 10.

[z] P. 14.

XXXIII. *Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Dr. Tovey, Principal of New-Inn-Hall, Oxford, to R. Rawlinson, LL.D. Dated 18 June, 1744.*

———And now, Sir, let me thank you for putting me upon looking into my history, “*Anglia Judaica*,” as I am so vain to call it: It gave me an opportunity of making, what I think a curious discovery, relating to a piece of Roman antiquity found in London. I happened to cast my eye on page the 4th, where mention is made of the Roman brick that was found about seventy years since in Mark Lane. You know very well that the Basso Relievo that is upon it has been thought, by all Antiquaries, to represent the story of “*Sampson, and the foxes with firebrands*.” Mr. Waller and others are of that opinion; and, to salve the matter, suppose the Jews were in Britain in the time of the Romans, and that they brought them acquainted with the story. As Mr. Waller was a man of note, I was obliged to take notice of his fancy, to prove the antiquity of the Jews in England; but declared, I could not build much upon it at the time of my composing that page, but that the Basso Relievo related to Sampson: But, on farther consideration, a thought came into my head, that, when I was at school, I had read much the same story about a fox and firebrand burning corn in “*Ovid’s Fasti*.” Upon search I found it in the 4th book, from verse 681, to 712; and is, without question, the very thing designed on the brick, the maker of which, I believe, knew no more of Sampson than of Deborah. You may see an account of this brick also in the preface to Leland’s *Collect.* Vol. I. page 71.



XXXIV. *Dissertation, by the Dean of Exeter, on the Antiquity of Brick Buildings in England, posterior to the Time of the Romans.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, January 20, 1757.

AS an enquiry into the original of any useful art, practised in this kingdom, seems to be one of the objects of our institution, I shall beg leave to lay before you some short remarks I have made on the antiquity of our Brick Building, which I am the rather induced to do, as it is a subject which has never been considered, as I know of, by any of our writers on architecture or antiquities.

OUR very learned and worthy brother, Dr. Ward, in his ingenious remarks on a date in Arabian numerals, impressed in relievo, on a brick chimney, at Shalford, in Bucks, has satisfactorily proved, that the date could not be 1182, as was supposed, but rather 1382. (Phil. Transf. abridged, Vol. Xth, page 1263.) He founds his objection upon the Arabian or Indian numerals being of later introduction into this part of Europe than the twelfth century; but had he known that the oldest brick buildings here (posterior to the Roman government) reached not higher than the close of the fourteenth Century, this alone would have been a very strong argument against the supposed antiquity of the Shalford date.

As in this instance, the material of the building where the date occurred, is a very considerable circumstance towards a discovery of its authenticity; so likewise in judging of the pretended date on the stone gate at Worcester, under the statues of King Edgar and his two Queens (as Dr. Thomas, in his Survey of Worcester cathedral, calls them), the Gothic style of the arch, &c. would alone have proved, that the date could not be near so old as 975, as  
Dr.

Dr. Ward, by other convincing arguments, evidently made appear before the Royal Society (Phil. Transf. abridged, Vol. IXth, p. 431). For the Saxon mode of building, which continued with very little alteration till about K. Stephen's time, was widely different from the Gothic, as Sir Christopher Wren justly observes in his letter to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, lately printed in the Parentalia, and in Widmore's account of Westminster abbey: Which confirmed an hypothesis of my own, that I ventured to advance long before this letter was made publick, and endeavoured to ascertain by accurate drawings, made of several old buildings, which were communicated to this Society. I must acknowledge, indeed, to have taken the first hint of this different style of architecture, from a loose sheet of Mr. Aubrey's MSS. in the Ashmole Museum; wherein he gives a rude drawing of a tower belonging to Saint Mary's church at the Devizes, and a window of the Chequer Inn, at Oxford, as specimens of Saxon architecture, in contradistinction to the Gothic; but all our other writers on antiquities have hitherto confounded them, except Staveland, in his tract on church-building (page 151), and Dr. Warburton, in a note on Mr. Pope's Epistle on Taste, to Lord Burlington.—As I have occasionally mentioned this gateway at Worcester, permit me to observe, that Dr. Thomas asserts, “it is commonly called King John's tower, and  
“said by some to have been built by him; but is much more an-  
“tient, having, in the front of it, the statues of King Edgar and  
“his two Queens; and the street it leads into is called, in several  
“writings, Edgar-street.”

Now I will venture to affirm, this gate-way or tower is not older than King John's time. In a manuscript in my possession, written by Mr. Habington, the great Worcestershire antiquary, about the reign of King Charles I, is the following passage.

“KING John, a great benefactor to the church of Worcester,  
“did by all likelihood build the stately gate house of his court,  
“which after served the priory, and now the college. In the front  
“whereof



“ whereof, under the statues of our blessed Saviour crowning his  
 “ blessed mother, is a King armed, with his legs crossed, which  
 “ may represent King John, who, An. Dom. 1215, in Saint  
 “ Paul’s church, London, took on him the sign of the cross for the  
 “ holy voyage, or King Richard the Ist, whose lion’s heart so con-  
 “ quered the Infidels.”

OUR author here supposes the principal figure to represent King John, or Richard the Ist, and takes no notice of the female figures on each side, nor of the supposed date. Now as King Richard and King John had each but one wife, I am inclined to think, with Dr. Thomas, that the cross legged figure, rather represented King Edgar, than either King Richard the Ist, or King John : and the two side-figures, Queen Ethelflede and Ethelfride, King Edgar’s two wives ; but, at the same time, I can by no means allow these statues to be any proof of the edifice on which they are placed, having been erected in the Saxon age, the sculpture being much too good for those very barbarous times ; not to mention that the cross-legged-figure very nearly resembles more than one of the statues which adorn the west front of Exeter cathedral, and one in the north west angle of the front of Wells cathedral. It is well known the former were placed at Exeter by bishop Grandison in King Edward the III<sup>d</sup>’s reign.

N. B. A GOOD engraving of the Statues on the Worcester gateway is prefixed to Heming’s Chartulary, published by Hearn. As Mr. Habington is quite silent about the date in question, I conclude it was illegible in his time ; and Dr. Ward, for the same reason, concludes it was equally so when Dr. Thomas wrote his survey ; but yet I am inclined to think, there was an antient date in Arabian or Indian numerals, perhaps filled or covered with moss, or almost obliterated by time, though not so old by many centuries as the year 975 ; and the front of this gate being a few years since under repair, some part of the numerals might remain, and were rendered more conspicuous by the scraping and cleaning of the stones :



stones: Now, as Dr. Thomas had a few years before declared his opinion in print, that the tower or gate-way was much more antient than King John's time, and also, that the statues represented King Edgar and his two Queens, the master workman set up the present date (*viz.*) 975, which was the year King Edgar died; as a restoration only of what appeared to him the original one.—

BUT to return from this digression.—

I MEAN not here to consider the Roman brick buildings in this island, but shall observe only, that it is somewhat surprizing, so useful an art should have been practised here so long by the Romans, and such considerable specimens of brick work remaining, as Pevensey castle, the walls of Silchester and York, &c. after the Saxons got footing here; that this art should have been wholly lost for a course of many centuries; and yet 'tis evident, the Normans, if not the Saxons, were ready enough to employ this material in their buildings, when they could easily procure it, witness the present great church of Saint Alban's, Saint Martin's juxta Canterbury, and Kingsbury in Middlesex; in all of which much Roman brick is worked up with the stone. The first, we know, was built by Paulus the 19th abbot, circa Ann. 1077 (11th William 1st), with materials got out of the ruins of Old Verulam (Stavelly, p. 149, from M. Paris, fol. 49). Saint Martin's near Canterbury, is said by all our writers to be the identical church which Queen Bertha gave to Augustin the monk, to celebrate divine service in, but, from the form of the arches, pillars, windows, &c. we may venture to pronounce it to have been rebuilt since King Henry the 2d; and here we find a great deal of Roman brick in the walls, as we do also in Kingsbury church, which, from being wholly in the Gothic style, we may also pronounce not older than Saint Martin's.

THE earliest period I can fix for the revival of this art in Britain, was about King Richard the 2d's reign, which, by the way, confirms Dr. Ward's opinion, that the date on the brick chimney should



be read 1382, which falls under the 5th year of that King's reign. We learn from Leland (1st Vol. Itin. p. 49), "that in King Richard the 2d's days, the town of Kyngeston on Hull waxed very rich, and Michael De la Pole, merchant there, was made Count of Suffolk; in whose tyme the towne was wonderfully augmented yn building, and was enclofyd with ditches, and the wall begun, and yn continuance endyd and made all of brike, as most parte of the houses of the towne at that tyme was.—In the waul (adds this writer) be 4 principal gates of brike; the north gate having 4 wardes, betwixt the which and Beverle gate be 12 tours of brike, and yn one of them a posterne.—Betwixt Miton gate and Hazelle gate there be 3 tours of brike, and from them to the haven mouth be 5 tours of brike. Michael de la Pole builded a goodly house of brike again the north end of Saint Mary's church like a palace, with goodly orchard and gardein enclofid with brike. He also builded 3 houses besides in the towne, whereof every one has a tour of brike. The Trinite church, most made of brike, is larger and fairer a great deal than Saint Mary's." So far Leland.—

THIS author here asserts, that Hull was first inclofed with ditches, and the wall begun by De la Pole in King Richard the 2d's time, and that the latter was built wholly with brick.—Now, in Gent's history of Kingston on Hull, we are informed, "that the 15th Edward 2d, (An. 1321) the King hearing of the town's wonderful improvement, granted a charter whereby the inhabitants were impowered to build their houses for the future of lime and stone, and to make a wall as designed by his predeceffor, with a mote for greater security, and that the next year the inhabitants petitioned the King, that a toll of one penny per pound might be laid on all goods imported and exported, to enable them to build a strong stone wall whereon towers might be erected, &c." (Gent, p. 87.) No doubt, a stone wall was then built, and the mote made in consequence of this grant; for the same author (at p. 91.) says,

says, “ that Ann. 1378 (1 Richard II) the Scots and French being  
“ enemies to England, the King sent to Hull, to have the  
“ town put into a posture of defence, the long happy reign of  
“ his predecessor having rendered their wall and ditches useless ; but  
“ now, the case being altered, the King commanded them to be re-  
“ paired at the expence of the town.” And again (at p. 72) “ That  
“ in the year 1383, Sir Michael De la Pole erected here a stately  
“ palace, the magnificent gate-house made of brick, being support-  
“ ed by great timbers, having two chambers covered with tyle.  
“ Through this first passage, and an entry twenty feet broad and  
“ one hundred long, was a spacious tower built of brick and stone,  
“ three stories high, covered with lead, in which were chambers  
“ eighteen feet square, &c. The chapel was twenty-eight feet long,  
“ and fifteen broad, built of fine brick and stone covered with lead,  
“ &c.” In a marginal note he adds, “ That Anno 1538, a survey  
“ was taken of this magnificent building (from which I suppose this  
“ description was copied, though the author cites no authority),  
“ when it was stiled the King’s house ; and Anno 1540, the King  
“ visiting the Town, beautified, repaired and enlarged it.”

In the month of September last, I made a journey to Hull, and carefully viewing the walls, found part of the towers between Beverley and North Gates still standing, and entirely composed of brick ; but another part of the wall (viz.) that which stretches from the North Block-house towards Drypool church, for a considerable length, is built with stone, having been faced only with brick, the said coat or facing being now fallen and lying under the wall. This might lead one to suspect, that the whole wall which surrounds the town had been faced in like manner, and consequently might have been the work of a later age than King Richard the II’d’s time. I should, indeed, have embraced this opinion, had the town been first strengthened with a wall by De la Pole, as Leland asserts ; but as Mr. Gent mentions a royal charter from King Edward II, to empower the inhabitants to build a wall of stone, as designed by his predecessor, and a toll granted in consequence



thereof; and we find King Richard the II<sup>d</sup> sending orders to the town, to repair their wall on an apprehension of the French and Scots invading England; I see no room to doubt of De la Pole's repairing with brick the old stone wall, and building the towers with the same material.

WITH regard to the Trinity church (which Leland says had a great deal of brick worked up in the walls), there does not appear a single brick in or about the whole fabrick, except a few on the south front, placed there of very late years; and yet the church walls seem to have undergone no alteration, either by way of addition or repair, since King Henry the VIII<sup>th</sup>'s time, when Leland wrote: Nor is the old gate-way leading to De la Pole's palace built of brick, but wholly of stone, and, by the style of the arch, windows, &c. it appears much more antient than King Henry the VIII<sup>th</sup>'s time; consequently there is no room to suspect that this gate-way was rebuilt by that Prince when he erected the present block-houses (which, by the way, are both brick edifices), and also ordered Pole's house to be repaired and beautified, as is above mentioned; but it is possible, there might have been another gate-way of brick, now demolished. —No other part of De la Pole's mansion is now standing, the whole site being covered with the townsmen's houses: But, as Leland positively asserts, it was built with brick, and the orchard and gardens inclosed with a brick wall; and in the circumstantial description of this house, which Mr. Gent gives us, Leland's assertion is confirmed; I think we may venture to pronounce that brick was used at Kingston on Hull, as early as the reign of King Richard the II<sup>d</sup>.

FROM this time to the reign of King Henry the VI<sup>th</sup>, I meet with no evidence of brick being employed as a material in building; that is, during the reigns of King Henry the IV<sup>th</sup> and V<sup>th</sup>. But in the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Henry the VI<sup>th</sup> (Cart. N<sup>o</sup>. 21. in Turre) a license occurs to Roger Tenis, Knight, to embattel and fortify his manor house of Hurst-Monceaux in Suffex, "*Licentia kernellandi manerium suum de Herts-Monceaux, &c.*"

THIS noble house, which is wholly built of brick, in the castle style, and, as such, occurs among Buck's Engravings of castles and abbeys in the county of Suffex, is still standing compleat; and, part of Audley End having been pulled down, is perhaps the largest house belonging to a subject in the kingdom.—No doubt it was built and not merely embattled, at the time when the license was obtained, the whole being built upon one plan; and it is worthy of remark, that the art of making brick was then carried to such perfection, though it should seem to be but in its infancy, that this vast structure has stood the brunt of weather for above three centuries, and particularly of the salt corroding vapours arising from the sea, to which it is greatly exposed, without suffering the least injury in any part of the walls; insomuch that hardly a single brick shews the least mark of decay.

THERE is another large brick house, embattled in like manner, and surrounded also with a mote, coeval with Hurst Monceaux, I mean the seat of the Tyrrels at Heron Gate in Essex. As the architecture here suits exactly with the taste and style of Henry the VIth's age, there is great reason to believe it was built by Sir John Tyrrell, in that or the preceding reign, as he was appointed captain or overseer of the carpenters by King Henry the Vth for his new works at Calais, and made treasurer of the household by King Henry the VIth.

ETON College, Queen's College in Cambridge, if I am not misinformed, and several other public and private edifices, were built of brick in this reign; so I think we may fairly pronounce the fashion of building with brick to have generally prevailed in England about Henry the VIth's time, and from thence continued to the present without interruption. I am, Gentlemen, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Grosvenor-street, Jan. 20, 1757.

C. LYTTLETON.



Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 22, 1757.

Lel. Collect. Vol. I.

At page lxxviii. is prefixed a letter to the editor from Mr. Bagford, relating to the Antiquity of London, dated February 1, 1714-15.

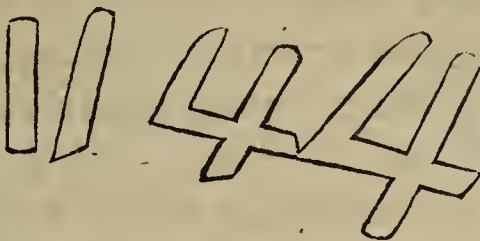
**H**ERE we must take notice, that there were no brick buildings, except chimneys, before the reign of King Henry the VIIth; and that even such as were afterwards built, were chiefly in monasteries, or some few palaces for Kings and Noblemen, such as that at Ouldford (which was King Henry the VIIIth's house), Brookhouse at Hackney (Lord Shower's house), the Church-house in the Church-yard, &c. Henry the VIIth brought in the use of flint-building, which, Sir Henry Wotton says, was not practised by the antients.—It was in his reign that we began to be more regular in our buildings, and had the use of brick from the Italians. This was afterwards revived by Inigo Jones, Anno 1639, who brought it into common use.—One of his first buildings was that of the Piazza in Covent Garden.

THE bricklayers of that age were curious workmen, as might have been seen by the Buildings at Hampton Court, Saint James's, Whitehall, Nonfuch-house, &c. especially the chimnies, not to be matched by any in Europe for variety of forms, differing very much from one another in the texture and curious workmanship, some of which are now standing at Whitehall, and Saint James's.

XXXV. *Part of a Letter to Mr. Joseph Ames, concerning some Arabic and Roman Numerals found on a Stone, in the Foundation of the Black Swan Inn, in Holborn.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 13, 1756.

AS the Workmen (May 4, 1756) were digging up part of the old Foundation of the Black Swan Inn, in Holborn, they met with a stone, which was strongly cemented with bricks, chalk, and other stones, like those they call ragg stones, that it was with great difficulty the pick-ax could make any impression or separate them [a]. This stone was at the bottom of a great pile of this rubbish, if I may so call it, and was about eighteen inches long, but accidentally broke in the middle by some blow of the pick-ax, nine inches broad, and four inches thick, and thereon now stand these Arabic numerals in the form and manner as near as I could some of which are and some about two



cut into the stone, never here described, imitate the same; about one inch  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches tall; and under them there are the Roman numerals XII, the meaning of which I will not at present even guess at.

[a] It is of the Surry Free-stone, of which there are many quarries at Reygate, Bletchingly, Godstone, &c. which latter place derives its name Godstone, i. e. Goodstone, from it, for its ancient name was Walkenestad. The nature of this stone is such, that it does not bear the injuries of the weather, and therefore is unfit for building; but, when placed where not exposed, is extremely durable; and so greatly resists fire, that bottoms of ovens, furnaces, &c. are built with it. Some of the quarries are very spacious, and of great Antiquity. If it should hereafter appear, that these are the numerals, and this the date when the house was built, it will bid fair for our receiving them from our people at their return from the holy war, when they had learned them from the Saracens. Jos. Ames.

Now,

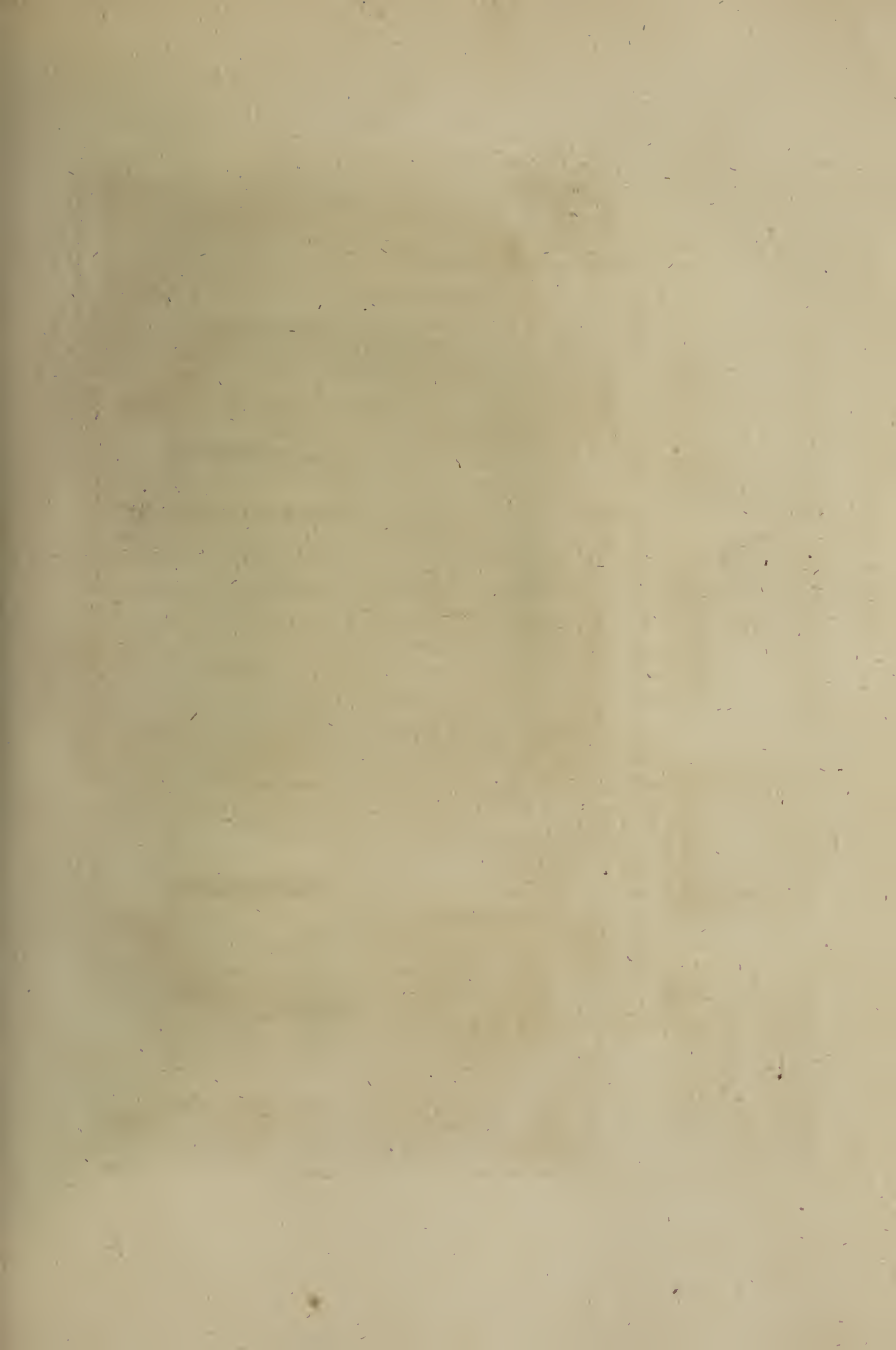


Now, if these Arabian figures are to be looked upon as genuine, as I see no reason why they should not be so, then this is an additional proof, that the Moorish characters, as Dr. Wallis has said in N<sup>o</sup>. 154, of the *Phil. Transact.* were introduced into Europe, and were used here in England, long before the time fixed by Father Mabillon and J. Gerrard Voffius, which was about 1250 or 1300.

It may indeed be objected, that the form of these two figures of 4, are now modern, and seem to come nearer to the present way of making them; than those, that appear to be in use in the 13th and 14th centuries; and therefore it may give a doubt or suspicion, whether these Arabick figures are genuine or no: Nevertheless, I am inclined to think, that they are genuine, and were cut in the stone, and laid in the foundation, at the time of the date, that is, about the 9th year of King Stephen's reign. Because the handwriting in use about that time is fairer, and comes nearer to the way of writing at present, than the MSS. for several centuries afterwards do; witness the lesser *Domesday Book*, and many charters and deeds of that age, where the letters are plainer, and more similar to the present manner or way of writing; and why might not these characters be so made, for the same reason?

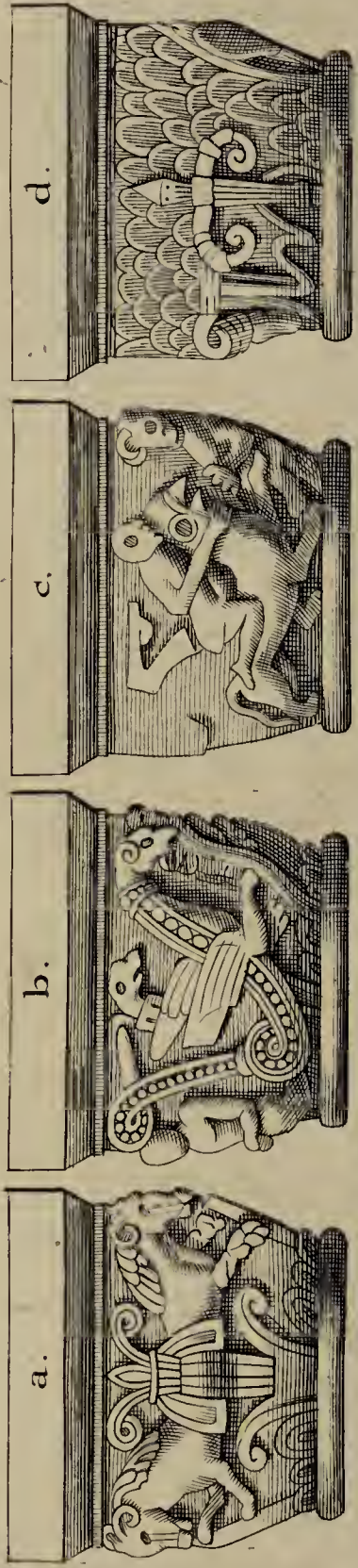
ANOTHER reason may be drawn from the form of the building which stood over this foundation, which, for grandeur, loftiness and appearance, almost exceeded any other antient building within the bills of mortality; which induced the learned Dr. Stukely to be of opinion (before this stone was discovered) that it was built as early as the Conquest, or thereabouts. And the finding this stone in a great measure confirms Dr. Stukely's conjecture, and carries the antiquity of Moorish characters being used in England, more than 100 years earlier than either Dr. Wallis, or the learned Dr. Ward of Gresham college, have fixed them, which was no higher than the year 1295, from a date that appears on the north east corner of Ashford steeple in Kent. Vide *Phil. Transf.* N<sup>o</sup>. 474.

THEY

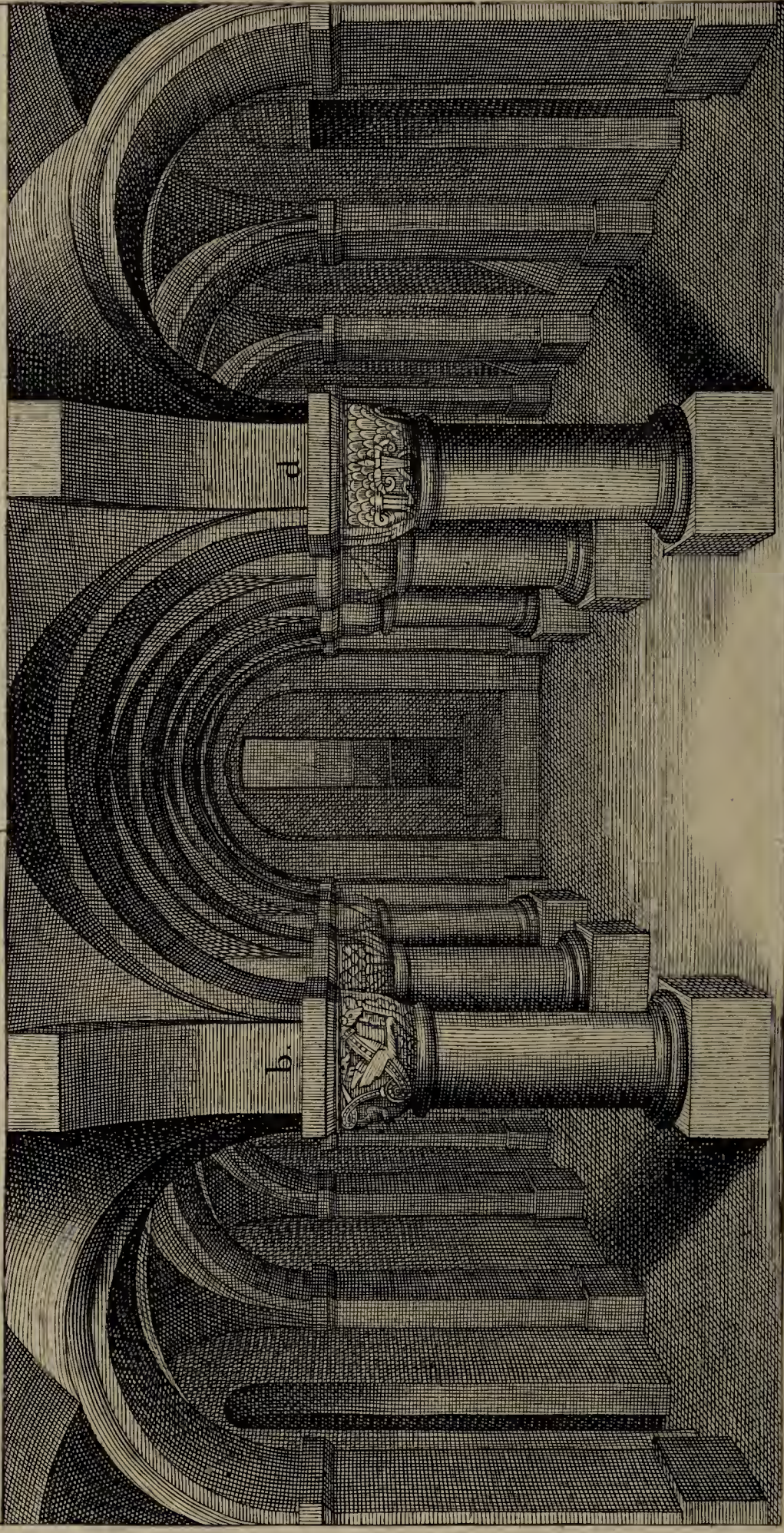




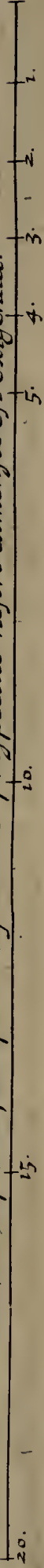
Scala unciarum, ad quam  
figurarum, quas litteris  
a, b, c, d, notavimus, ho-  
die in duabus testudi-  
nis columnis conspici-  
tur, dimensio est exigenda.



PROSPECTUS INTERIOR TESTUDINIS GRUMBALDIANÆ.



Scala pedum, ad quam testudinis prospectus nostri dimensio est exigenda.





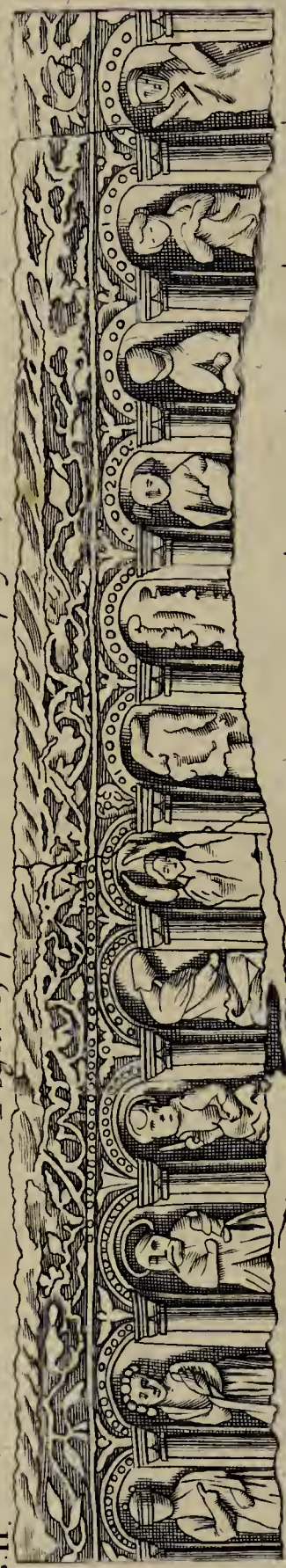
THE LIFE OF THE LATE JOHN RUSSELL, ESQ. OF RUSSELL SQUARE, LONDON.





Figurae, quibus ornatur Baptisterium.

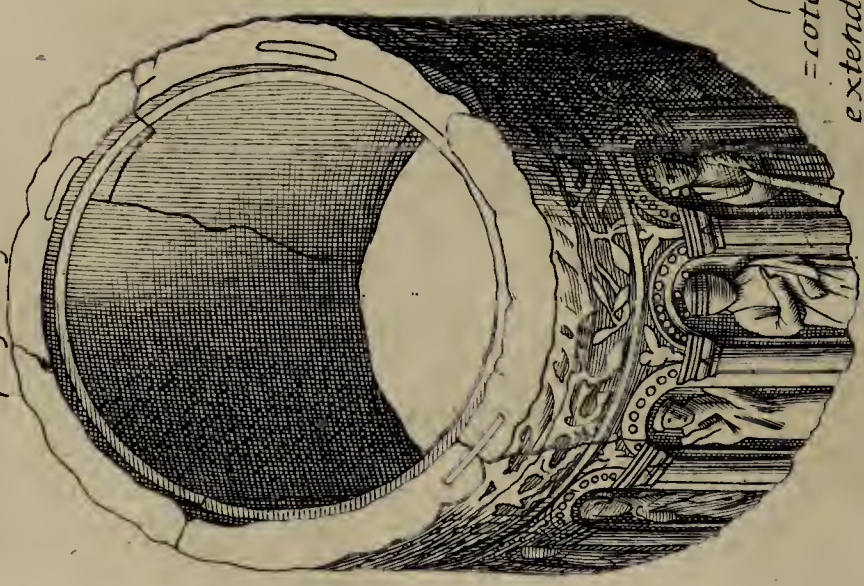
TAB. II.



Scala pedum.

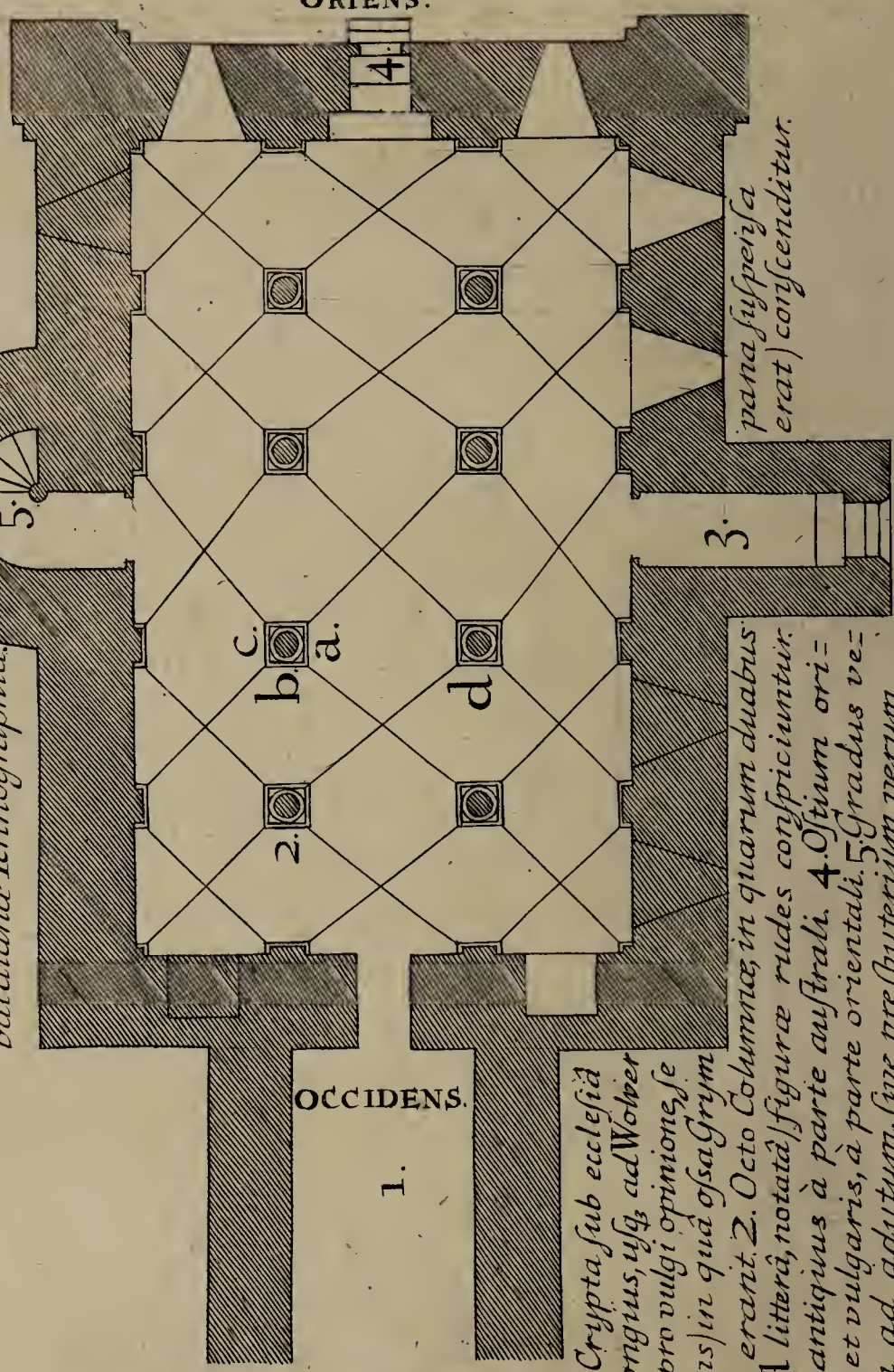
11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.

Baptisterij Icon.



Arce Testudinis Grym = baldianæ Ichnographia.

SEPTENTRIO.



OCCIDENS.

ORIENS.

1. Crypta sub ecclesiâ (longius, usq. ad Wolber = cote, pro vulgi opinione, se extendens) in qua oſa Grym

= baldi, ut conjicimus, condenda erant. 2. Octo Columnæ, in quarum duabus (primâ litteris a b c, secundâ d litterâ, notatâ) figuræ rudes conspiciuntur. 3. Ostium australe, sive Introitus antiquus à parte australi. 4. Ostium orientale, sive Introitus antiquus, et vulgaris, à parte orientali. 5. Gradus vestustissimi, per quos non tantum ad adytum, sive presbyterium, verum etiam ad ecclesiæ fastigium (ubi olim, in turriculâ quâdam, ut fertur, cum =

pana suspensa erat) conscenditur.

AVSTER.

Scala pedum.

4.5. 4.0. 3.5. 3.0. 2.5. 2.0. 1.5. 1.0. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.

MBurg. delin. et sculp.







*Ecclesiæ D. Petri in Oriente Oxon. Prospectus à parte Euro-Australi.*



TAB. III.

Pag: 151.

[A] Ecclesiae pars vetustissima, quam ab ipso Grymbaldo esse existimamus.

|     |     |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 130 | 120 | 110 | 100 | 90 | 80 | 70 | 60 | 50 | 40 | 30 | 20 |
|     |     |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |

Scala pedum.

MB det. f.



THEY who are minded to enter further into the dispute about the time these Moorish characters were first used in England, may (besides what these Gentlemen have said, which I have already quoted) consult the Phil. Trans. N<sup>o</sup>. 255, 266, 439, 474, and look into Dr. Jebb's Bibliotheca Literaria, N<sup>o</sup>. VIII and X; and into Morant's History of Colchester, book III. page 28.—

JOHN BOOTH.

Bernard's Inn, Holborn,  
May 11, 1756.

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XXXVI. *Some Account of Saint Peter's Church in the East, Oxon, from an old MS. Communicated by Mr. James Theobald.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 10, 1755.

A true Account of the Erection of Saint Peter's Church in the East, Oxon.

**S** AINT Peter's church in the East, Oxon, was founded by Saint Grymbald a Monk, about 814 years since, viz. Anno Christi DCCCLXXXVI. according to the most credible account we can find recorded in the annals of our English nation (*b*). This Saint

[*b*] This account I find in an antient author, namely Afferius Menevensis, in *vita et gestis Regis Aluredi*, edit. Francofurti, 1602, vel 1603. Which Afferius was very learned (*Vit. S. Grimbaldi MS. per Anon. Script. out of which I have seen some Collections in the 1st Vol. of the Collectanea of the most celebrated Antiquary, Joh. Leland. Vid. item Guliel. Malmfburiensem, de gestis Pontificum, lib. ii. pag. 247. edit. inter Scriptores Anglicanos, Franc. 1601. et ejusd. Malmfburiensis Tract. de gestis Regum Anglorum, inter eosd. Scriptores, lib. ii.*

Grymbal



Grymbald was a person of a sharp wit and immense know-

pag. 44. Joh. Balaeum, de Scriptoribus Majoris Brit. in vita Afferii, et multos alios) and for that reason was called out of Wales by King Alfred (so himself tells us in the before specified life of Alfred) and very much beloved by him; inso-much that he was pleased more especially to receive instruction from him (Alfred himself attests this in the preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral, printed in Saxon, Latin, and old English, at the end of Affer's life of Alfred) and at length made him bishop of Shireburne,) Malmshuriensis de gestis Pontificum loco citato) and praelector of grammar and rhetoric at Oxford (Ant. à Wood in Hist. et Antiq. Universitatis Oxon. lib. ii. pag. 31.); but, because this account does not agree very well with what is related of Afferius, the bishop of Shireburne, namely, that he died Anno 883 (so Malmshury himself saith in loco citato) therefore I think, that this work is to be attributed to Afferius the Archbishop of Saint David's, and uncle to Afferius the bishop of Shireburne, for he died Anno 906. (vide Hist. et Antiq. Universitatis Oxon. loco citato) or Anno 909 (vide annotationes ad Alfredi vitam à Dom. Johan. Spelmano H. fil. primum Anglice conscript. dein Latine redditam, et Oxon. impress. Anno 1678, lib. iii. pag. 145.) and consequently must write this life. Now it being plain, that Afferius the Archbishop was the author hereof, the Cantabrigians, who were too much concerned that their aunt Oxon should pretend to a greater Antiquity than their own mother, have endeavoured to prove this passage spurious, and particularly Sir John Spelman, in the 3d Book of his abovementioned life of Alfred. For they tell us, that it appears not in the edition of Archbishop Parker, in Saxon letters, Lond. 1574, nor in the MS. copy made use of by the said archbishop, and consequently, that Mr. Camden must have used deceit; for he was the Curator of the Francofurt edition; Especially since the Archbishop professeth that he neither added nor detracted any thing from the copy which he used: "Indicio erunt ipsa prima exemplaria, quae idcirco Cantabrigiae, in bibliotheca collegii Corporis Christi, ad sempiternum hujus rei testimonium extare volumus. Ubi, si quis cum codicibus MSS. impressos comparare voluerit, enimvero nihil nos detraxisse, aut addidisse inveniet, sed summam ubique fidem et religionem praestitisse," are the very words of the Archbishop in his preface to his edition: And from them may be perceived the great error of Sir John Spelman, who, in the 3d book of his life of Alfred, saith, that the copy from which Archbishop Parker printed Affer, is in the Cottonian Library. But truly, that the Copy which Mr. Cambden followed, was the best, himself saith in his Brit. (in DOBUNIS, p. 268. Lond. 1607.) and that he used no underhand-dealing herein; Mr. Brian Twyne, an Antiquary, notwithstanding rather cynical than facetious, morose than pleasant, clownish than courteous, close than communicative, yet a true lover of his mother the University, and an Enemy to all those who falsify the works of authors, I say, he, in his Apologia ledge

ledge [b], and therefore was by King Alfred (deservedly furnamed the GREAT, on a double respect, both for his noble atchievements

Antiquitatis Acad. Oxon. lib. ii. § 80, 81. proves this to be the most authentic copy, being written in the time of Richard II; and saith further, that he saw Archbishop Parker's copy, which was very much defaced with his own hand, especially in that place, where this very passage relating to Oxon was inserted. However Mr. Twyne, being not thoroughly satisfied, Feb. 18, An. 1622, took a journey to London, on purpose to discourse with Mr. Camden concerning this matter; who after some other particulars affirmed, that he had dealt very faithfully in his edition of Asserius; and that the MS. was, at the time of the impression, in the custody of Sir Hen. Savile of Banke, near Halifax, in Yorkshire. That the truth might receive the greater light, Mr. Twyne wrote down all the particulars passed between Mr. Camden and him, and took an oath, specified at the bottom of the writing, that he had related every thing according to what Mr. Camden told him. The transcript whereof is now to be seen amongst the rare MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum of that industrious Antiquary, Mr. Ant. à Wood. And further, that Mr. Camden, who is called by foreigners (*Vide Lexicon Hofmanni*) the English Strabo, was one who deserves no suspicion of being deceitful in any respect, will appear to his greatest enemies that shall be pleased to consult a letter of his, written when he was very sick to Archbishop Usher, and printed amongst other letters between the Archbishop and others, London, 1686, p. 65, where, amongst other things, he solemnly saith, that his life had been such among men, that he was neither ashamed to live, nor afraid to die, &c. And, that we may not think that this relation depends upon the testimony only of one single author, Mr. Camden (in *Brit. loco assignato*) attests, that words of the same effect were in the Annals of Winchester, which he saw in MS. And Mr. Twyne (*Apol. ubi supra*) that the same appear in several MSS. which he had perused, some whereof he mentions, to whom such as desire more full satisfaction may be pleased to have recourse. So that, from what hath been delivered, it is very evident that this passage, in this life of Asser, is genuine; and that consequently Saint Peter's Church was built by St. Grymbald, whatsoever Sir Joh. Spelman hath been pleased to say to the contrary; for his arguments at best are but negative; and whether such, in a matter of so great moment, be conclusive, must be left to the judgements of such as are skilled in matters relating to antiquity. For my part, I should, had not Mr. Camden in such express words asserted this particular to Mr. Twyne, be convinced of the certainty hereof, by the vault which is at this day to be seen in Saint Peter's Church, wherein Saint Grymbald designed to have his body interred after his decease.

[b] *Annales Winton. MS. Ranulph. Cestrensis in Fragmento quodam Polychron. MS. inter Cod. Digb. num. 218, fol. 106, &c. Asserius Menevens. in Vit. Alfred.*



in martial affairs, and his assiduous promotion of learning) elected one of the first professors [*c*] of divinity in this most flourishing university of Oxon. The Monk, at his access hither (for he was originally of France [*d*]), with great industry applied himself to his business, and, for the greater regularity, framed statutes for the use of the members of the university: Whereupon a dissention arose between him and the old scholars, who refused to conform themselves to those statutes. The noble and invincible King Alfred, hearing of this difference, immediately came to Oxon for an accommodation thereof, and submitted himself to much pains and patience for that end. At length, having acquired a full and perfect account of the reasons of this faction, with pious and importunate intreaties, he exhorted both to preserve love and amity with one another. After which he left them, hoping that they would follow his advice, and obey his instructions. But Grymbald, resenting these proceedings, forthwith retired to the monastery of Winchester, which King Alfred had erected [*e*], and whereof Grymbald had been Abbat [*f*], whither soon after he got his tomb also to be removed, in which he had designed his bones should be put, and laid in a vault under the chancel of the foresaid church of Saint Peter. But this un-

edit. Franc. p. 16. In the before said life of Grymbald, it is said thus of him—  
 “Cujus maturitas, morum dignitas, eloquentiae et doctrinae sublimitas, mire  
 “omnium permulcebat aspectus et animos,” &c. Chron. Joh. Bromton, Abbatis  
 Jorvalensis, sive potius Jorvalensis (prout Seldenus eruditissimus rei que Antiquariae  
 callentissimus innuit in praefatione ad Decem Scriptores Anglic. à Rogero Twyfdeno  
 Mil. edit. Lond. 1652, p. 30. à Jervallo nempe Monasterio in agro, qui vulgo nun-  
 cupatur Richmondshire) inter eosdem Scriptores Anglicanos, p. 814. Sim. Dunel-  
 mens. ibid.

[*c*] He was Divinity Lecturer immediately after Saint Neot, who was first professor of that faculty. Vide Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 30.

[*d*] Affer. Menevens. Joh. Bromton, ibid. He died the third year of Edward the Elder. Chron. Joh. Bromton, p. 832.

[*e*] Malmfb. de Gestis Regum Ang. libb. ii. p. 44.

[*f*] Ibid.

lucky accident defeated his intention. Certain it is, that before he had a great affection for the University, otherwise he would not have been at such expences in this foundation, it being built with the finest stones then in use in these parts, and the best artists employed therein. And notwithstanding in our time it appears not to be a very curious structure, yet in those times it was accounted a rare piece of work, and altogether becoming the mind of its builder, and the convention of the society for whom designed. From whence may be discerned the great progress architecture hath made in our nation since that time.

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XXXVII. *Some Observations on an antique Marble of the Earl of Pembroke.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 7, 1768.

AT Lord Pembroke's seat at Wilton, there is a very antient altar of Bacchus, of more consequence than vulgarly imagined. The inscription, which ends in a circle round it (for so Mr. Cowdry describes it, p. 116.) runs thus :

ΜΕΛΛΟΜΕΝ·ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ ΔΙΣΔΟΜΟΡΦΟΝ·  
ΒΑΚΧΕΥΤΟΡΑ ΞΑΝΘΟΚΑΡΕΜΟΝ

THIS marble and inscription are unquestionably very old, as I judge both from the form of the letters, and there being no appearance of the four last invented letters of the Greek Alphabet.



THE form of the letters is much like those of the Sigeian inscription published by Dr. Chishull [g], and of those on the pedestal of the Colossus at Delos, which may be seen in Dr. Shuckford [h].

THE last invented letters are, Η, Ω, Ξ, Ψ, none of which are found here, whereas the aspirated letters of Palamedes, Φ, Χ, Ψ, Θ [i], do all of them occur.

I WOULD not rest the antiquity of this altar solely on the Epsilon's being used for Eta, as is done in the description; that, I think, being too precarious, since, by an accidental continuance of the ancient custom, that will sometimes prevail on later marbles [k]; but on the antique figure of the letters, in conjunction with the orthography. The orthography depends upon the Omicron's being used for Omega, as much as on the Epsilon's being put for Eta; for the conjecture in Mr. Cowdry is right as to the word Μέλομεν, which is here undoubtedly intended for Μέλωμεν, for the epigram on Bacchus in the Anthologia [m] begins with that word. And as that epigram includes the several names of Bacchus, being compiled for that purpose; 'tis well worth remarking, that his four names upon the altar, Δίνυσος, Ἀγλαόμορφος, Βαχρότωρ and Ξανθοκέρως, are all of them found there. But what is of greater weight with me is the Ψ, the ancient character of ζ [n]. Simonides was the person, according to Salmasius [o], that invented the long vowels Η and Ω; as likewise the Double Letters, by which as contradistinguished to the Literae Densae, which are added to

[g] Chishull, Inscript. Asiatic.

[h] Shuckford's Connection, Vol. i, p. 259.

[i] Salmasii, Inscript. vet. explicat. p. 47. edit. Crenii.

[k] Dr. Taylor's Commentar. ad Marmor. Sandvic. p. 6, 7.

[l] Mr. Cowdry's book, cited above.

[m] Anthologia Graeca p. 82. edit. Brodaeii.

[n] Seldeni Comment. ad Marm. Arundel. p. 120. edit. Maittaire. This character is not found in the Sigeian inscription, as Dr. Shuckford alledges, p. 256. yet it is in Dr. Chishull's Alphabet, p. 3.

[o] Salmasius, loco citat.

the Alphabet by Palamedes, are meant  $\Xi$  and  $\Psi$  [*p*]. The  $\Xi$  was therefore invented by Palamedes, and the  $\Xi$  by Simonides, and consequently since the  $\Xi$  occurs not upon the altar, but  $\Xi$  is used instead of it, we must conclude it to be older than the age of Simonides, but more recent than that of Palamedes. Before the  $\Xi$  was devised,  $\Xi$  would be put for it, these two letters being so readily counterchanged [*q*]. Now from these three notes, E for H, O for  $\Omega$ , and  $\Xi$  for  $\Xi$ , when considered together, I think, we may safely conjecture somewhat of the age of the marble, though it would not be so safe to do it, from one of them singly. H,  $\Omega$  and  $\Xi$ , were all of the invention of Simonides, who was born Olymp. LV. 4. and died Olymp. LXXVIII [*r*]. Wherefore, as the marble must be older than he, and many years for aught we know, the lowest date we can assign it must be Olymp. L. which answers to the year before Christ 578 [*s*]. Whereupon I observe, that the punctuation with two dots is also ancient, and conformable to the time here mentioned [*t*], and that this is far the oldest Greek inscription in England, and probably the oldest extant any where else, unless perhaps you will except the Sigeian.

Tis generally agreed, that the first compositions were in verse; and I incline to believe, that the inscription is part of some old hymn composed in honor of that God; nothing less seems to be implied by the word  $\text{Μέλπωδον}$ , which has no relation to an altar, otherwise than by accommodation, the altar-style being very different from this. However, it is applied properly enough to the sacred stone, since the sacrifices were usually attended with music, voices and hymns. It may be reduced into metre in this manner:

[*p*] Salmasius, *ibid*.

[*q*] Maittaire's *Marm. Oxon.* p. 563.

[*r*] Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* Tom. I. 591.

[*s*] Helvici *Chronologia*.

[*t*] Chishull, p. 14.



—————Μέλπωμεν Διόνυσον,  
 Ἀγλαόμορφον, Βακχότορα, Ξανθηκάρων.

FOR though the word Ἀγλαός has generally the middle syllable short, and is so used in the Anthologia, in the place above cited, and in the next epigram, and in Homer, yet this does not hinder but that a rude hymnographer might take the liberty of producing that syllable in those early ages, when this composition is supposed to be made; and the insertion of the Aeolic Digamma, thus ἀγλαυός, or ἀγλαφός, which Bishop Stillingfleet says is always done when two vowels meet [u], would contribute to make it more easy and current [x].

THE Sigma in this inscription has something peculiar in it, thus,  $\Sigma$ ; a form that does not often occur on the marbles. The Sigeian inscription gives it the contrary way  $\Sigma$ ; which is owing, no doubt, to the unsettled way of writing in those times amongst the Greeks, sometimes from right to left, after the manner of the Asiatics; sometimes from left to right, as we now do; and sometimes both ways intermixed [y]. Our character much resembles the imperfect  $\Sigma$ ,

[u] Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacr. p. 384. See also Grot. de Verit. p. 52.

[x] In reading this ingenious letter to the Society, I made the cursory observation, which I here beg leave to subjoin. There is a similar word, I mean, ἀλαός, whose middle syllable is used both long and short by Homer. Conf. Od. ε. 195. and κ. 493. The reason of it is, that λα in ἀλαός is naturally long; but poetically shortened by preceding another vowel; but I never met with the second α long in ἀγλαός, not even in the hymns (said to be) of Orpheus, in their corrupt state: And were we to allow it produced by the insertion of the Aeolic Digamma, without inserting another after ὀμικρόν, I cannot see the propriety of making this syllable also long; unless the μ, being a liquid, has the power of lengthening a short syllable, as some grammarians maintain; with whom I cannot readily join hands, because this liberty would render metre very precarious, and almost useless the addition of η and ω to the Alphabet by Simonides. I should chuse therefore, rather to let the Inscription stand as it does than begin with μέλπωμεν in the middle of a verse; and drawl ἀγλαόμορφον into five long syllables. T. M.

[y] Dr. Shuckford's Connection, Vol. i. p. 256, 257.

of

of which Scaliger speaks [z], and which gave occasion to those rounder figures on Herod's pillar 5 [a], which seem naturally to be deduced from this angular antient form.

THE R is of two sorts. That which has the tail is rare, it approaching nearly to the Roman form. However, both are to be met with on Herod's Pillar in Dr. Chishull; and as the R seems to have been in use amongst the Ionians, from them the Latins probably took it [b].

BUT what is most remarkable is the Lambda, thus, Λ, which I believe to be entirely different from all others hitherto seen; at least, there is nothing like it in Scaliger, or Chishull, nor, as I remember, in Montfaucon [c]. 'Tis evidently the Hebrew Lamed ל, and is a further proof that the Greek letters were brought from the East, as Dr. Shuckford and others justly maintain, and withall is a great confirmation of the high antiquity of this venerable remain.

It is pretty remarkable, and very fortunate, that these few words (not more than five) contain the whole Greek Alphabet, as it stood at that time.

HAVING had occasion to recur to Dr. Shuckford's Connection, amongst other authors, for the elucidation of this curious remnant of antiquity, I could not avoid discovering a pleasant mistake of the Doctor's, with which I shall conclude these Remarks. 'Tis in relation to the Theban Tripods. The case is thus: In the fifth

[z] Scaliger's Animadversf. on Eusebius, p. 110 and 116.

[a] Montf. in the Diar. Ital. p. 55. draws an argument from this form of the R, to prove that the famous gospel of Saint Mark at Venice is in Latin; and I am of opinion, that, though we see the Canine letter in this shape on this marble, his argumentation is not the less conclusive, by reason, that in the fourth or fifth Century the P was the established and general character.

[b] Chishull, p. 11.

[c] Montfaucon, Palaeographia Graec.



book of Herodotus [d], there are three inscriptions, which the author tells us he saw written in Cadmean letters on as many Tripods at Thebes. These inscriptions, however, are printed in the author, in the common Greek character. Afterwards Scaliger, in his digression on the antient Greek letters, in his animadversions on Eusebius, thought fit to exemplify them, for the illustration of the subject he was upon, in the antient Ionic character, from his own invention; and the learned Doctor has been pleased to take Scaliger's imagination for a reality, as if the Tripods had been then extant, and that Scaliger had procured transcripts of them from Thebes, and to argue from the figures of the letters, as genuine and authentic monuments of antiquity. He has unwarily imposed upon many of his readers, no doubt; however, he has made Scaliger some amends for the trick Muretus formerly put upon him; Scaliger took some verses of Muretus's for a fragment of the Latin Poet Trabea [f]; and the Doctor in return has taken Scaliger's fancies for real inscriptions.

S. P.

Whittington, Novem. 30, 1767.

[d] Herodotus, p. 307. edit. Gronov.

[e] Shuckford's Connect. Vol. i. p. 258, in Not. p. 261. in Not. p. 263. and 265.

[f] Fabric. Bibl. Lat. Tom. I. p. 670.

# XXXVIII. *A Dissertation on an antient Jewel of the Anglo-Saxons.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 5, 1752.

THERE is a well-known and curious piece of gold in the Bodleian library, of which I must here take some notice, though it be not properly a coin. It has been no less than four times engraved; first by Dr. Plot, then in Camden, after that by Sir Andrew Fountaine (by which means it obtains an alliance with this work), and lastly by Mr. Wife. And all the gentlemen concerned, to whom I may add Mr. Thwaites, have respectively given their opinions of it, but are so discordant among themselves, that there is indeed great room, and great occasion, for a Moderator, to compose differences between them, and, if one may be so happy, to give the true explication of it.

Dr. Plot, in his Nat. Hist. of Oxfordshire, p. 352.

“ BEFORE they (the Kings of England) touch for this distemper  
 “ (the King’s evil), they have always prayers read suitable to the occa-  
 “ sion; both which when performed, the King forthwith bestows  
 “ on every Patient, a piece of Angel-Gold purposely coined, and  
 “ put upon a White Ribbon, to be hung about the neck; which as  
 “ long as worn, preserves the virtue of the Touch . . . . .  
 “ However it be, that this was the custom *ab initio*, I take to be  
 “ plain, from that piece of gold of King Edward the Confessor,  
 “ Tab. xvi. Fig. 5. found in S. Giles’s field, in the suburbs of Oxon,  
 “ having the initial letters of his name over the hinder part of the  
 “ head, and two small holes through it, as if designed to be hung  
 “ on a ribbon, for the purpose above mentioned, the holes, being  
 VOL. I. Y “ strengthened



“strengthened with gold wire fastened round them, and to the  
 “piece itself, much after the fashion of the eye of a man’s doublet,  
 “as exactly described in the figure, *ut supra*; which piece was lent  
 “me by that courteous gentleman, Sir John Holeman, Baronet,  
 “in whose possession it now remains, at his house near North-  
 “ampton.”

Mr. Walker, in Camden, Tab. iv. N<sup>o</sup>. 40.

“THE fortieth is taken out of Dr. Plot’s History of Oxford-  
 “shire; it was found in digging the works at Oxford, and is, or  
 “not long since was, in the possession of Sir John Holman. It  
 “is supposed to be the gold given by Saint Edward the Confessor,  
 “at his curing the Scrophulae, or the King’s-Evil. It is worth  
 “noting, that it hath upon it the figure of a woman veiled (not  
 “unlike a Nun) whether of the Blessed Virgin, or some other holy  
 “woman, I cannot determine. But it seems much more proper  
 “for that function, than that now used of an angel; which was  
 “taken from the French.”

Mr. Thoresby, in Camden, *ibidem*.

“THAT Edward the Confessor was the first of our Kings who  
 “cured the Struma, is acknowledged by all, and that it was called  
 “the King’s-Evil upon that account, is probable enough; but,  
 “that he and the succeeding Kings gave pieces of gold in this form,  
 “may, I think, be justly scrupled, and can never be proved from  
 “E. C. the supposed Initials of his name, who is never stiled  
 “Confessor upon any monies or medals of undoubted antiquity;  
 “and if gold had been coined and distributed upon this or any other  
 “occasion in those ages, a greater number of them, no doubt, would  
 “have been found in the cabinets of the curious, as well as their  
 “current monies; whereas nothing of that metal appears till  
 “Edw. the III<sup>d</sup>’s time; and that, perhaps, no other than the current  
 “silver money of each prince, except gilded for distinction. Such an  
 “one,

“ one, with a hole for the ribbon to be hung about the neck, was  
 “ amongst the curiosities in the old Lord Fairfax’s Museum, and is  
 “ yet preserved in this. It has the full face (as he is represented  
 “ upon his great seal, Speed’s history) with the arched crown, and  
 “ may possibly be one of the same numerical pieces given upon  
 “ that occasion. As for the curiosity described by the ingenious  
 “ Dr. Plot, in his History of Oxfordshire, and from him transmitted  
 “ to N<sup>o</sup>. 40. in this table, I look upon it as a sort of Amulet (for  
 “ which those darker superstitious ages had an extraordinary vene-  
 “ ration), like that noble one of King Alfred, described by the  
 “ learned Dr. Hickes [g]; and do conclude with Dr. Wotton, that  
 “ those pieces inscribed Saint Edmond were of the like nature.”

Sir A. Fountaine, Dissert. Epist. ad Comit. Penbrochiae.

“ AT vero mihi haud diffitendum est, ne unum quidem (nummum  
 “ aureum) aut a me unquam fuisse visum, aut inter legendum mihi  
 “ occurrisse, nisi in dissertatione illa Walkeriana, et Historia Natu-  
 “ rali comitatus Oxoniensis a Doctore Plot conscripta. Hic quidem  
 “ scriptor, eumque secutus Walkerus, nummum quadragintesium,  
 “ in tabula octava (quam videre est in praedicta editione Britanniae  
 “ Camdenianae), autumant esse Saxonicum, et qualem ad curan-  
 “ dam Scrophulam, Edvardus cognomento Confessor, hominibus  
 “ morbo illo laborantibus, elargiri solitus est. Sed ratiociniis adeo  
 “ infirmis innixa est haec opinio, ut in tabulis nostris monetae Sax-  
 “ onicae nummus iste nullum obtinuerit locum. Veruntamen Iconem  
 “ ejus infra apponere visum est, ut inde judices, Hon. Comes, quam  
 “ valido argumento contendat Walkerus nummum hominibus  
 “ Scrophula affectis elargiendum, monachae quam Angeli (uti nunc  
 “ dierum, in more positum est) imagine rectius esse signandum.”

Mr. Thwaites.

“ IN the 161st page of Sir Andrew Fountaine’s Epistolary  
 “ Dissertation, a coin (or piece of money) represents, if I am not  
 [g] In his Thesaur. Ling. Vet. Septentr. p. 142.

Y 2

“ mistaken



“ mistaken, the head of Jēsus Christ, with these letters, C A  $\leq$   $\Omega$ ,  
 “ that is, Christus, Alpha et Omega ; Christ, Alpha and Omega,  
 “ the beginning and ending, or first and last. His head is adorned  
 “ with a triple crown. The little character  $\leq$  ( $\mathfrak{C}$ , and) is to be  
 “ seen now in ancient coins, struck in the same manner. It is taken  
 “ from the Anglo-Saxon  $\mathfrak{C}$ , or  $\mathfrak{J}$ .”

Mr. Wise, Numm. Bodl. Catalog. p. 232.

“ Superest dicendus nummus aureus, si nummum vocare fas sit,  
 “ olim prope Oxoniam repertus, et a celeberrimo Johanne Radcliffe,  
 “ M. D. scriniis Bodleianis donatus. Sane non dissimilis est istis,  
 “ quos bracteatos et cavos vocant Antiquarii Septentrionales, scilicet,  
 “ tam incusus quam excusus. Hunc primus vulgavit Cl. Rob.  
 “ Plot, M. D. in Hist. Naturali Comitatus Oxoniensis, illumque  
 “ autumavit ex iis esse, quos infirmis Scrophula laborantibus dedit  
 “ Edvardus Confessor. Quam etiam opinionem calculis suis pro-  
 “ barunt alii eruditi: immo Cl. Edw. Thwaites literas A et  $\Omega$  in  
 “ epigraphe, si qua sit, videre voluit: vide Not. in Num. Saxon.  
 “ Saeculum proculdubio olet, quin et opus forte, Saxonicum; at  
 “ an unquam monetae inservierit, merito dubitatur. Quandoqui-  
 “ dem Saxonibus in nummis propriis rarus aut nullus, uti diximus,  
 “ auri fuit usus; a quo vero, in cimeliis diversi generis fabricandis,  
 “ eos neutiquam alienos fuisse abunde constat. Quare ipse in alium  
 “ usum istud elaborari censeo; ad codicis, puta, aliufve supellectilis,  
 “ ornamentum; cujus etiam exteriori tegumento affixum fuisse, me  
 “ maxime persuasum habeo.”

As to Dr. Plot's and Mr. Walker's notion of this being one of those pieces distributed by Edward the Confessor amongst the patients touched by him for the King's-Evil, the later Antiquaries, Sir Andr. Fountaine, Mr. Thoresby, and Mr. Wise, all agree to reject it, and, I think, very justly. In the first place, Dr. Plot builds his opinion upon the C, which he thought he discerned upon it, and which he imagined might denote Confessor; but that letter is not  
 a C,

a C, but a G. Secondly, I esteem the piece to be older than that Prince. Thirdly, I do not take it to be a Coin. Fourthly, the head does not represent a woman veiled, consequently neither the Blessed Virgin, nor any other holy woman; in short, it is a person of a higher order, as will be seen below. To all which you may add, fifthly, the plausible objections raised by Mr. Thoresby.

MR. THORESBY very rightly judges it to be an Amulet; but he has contributed little to the explanation of it, since he adds nothing either concerning the effigies or the letters upon it, but leaves us still entirely in the dark as to them.

SIR ANDREW, in effect, says little upon it; contenting himself with alledging it to be no coin, and exposing Mr. Walker's and Dr. Plot's notion of its being a Touch-piece.

MR. THWAITES, who follows next, has come the nearest the truth; but, as on one hand he takes it for a coin, which it is not, so on the other, he still persists in the old track of taking the G for a C, and likewise has overlooked two other letters: Moreover his interpretation has been so coldly received, so slighted by Mr. Wise, who seems entirely to dissent from him, that it may be thought necessary to do justice to Mr. Thwaites in certain particulars.

MR. WISE very justly holds it to be a jewel, and not a coin; but then, I think, he mistakes its use, and seems to doubt whether there be any inscription upon it: which I cannot but admire, since that is so evident in his own type.

WHAT I propose therefore to do, in regard to this dissonance of opinions, will be, first, to discover and explain the letters; secondly, to shew whose the head is; thirdly, to add a word of the age of the jewel; and fourthly, of the use for which it was originally designed.

FIRST then, this jewel is chased and repaired; for that side which is placed for the reverse in Mr. Wise's type (which I make use of here, esteeming it the most accurate) is the Intaglio, or the concave side,



fide, and the obverse is the convex. But the workman very thoughtlessly (a fault too frequent in these rude and early times) wrought his draught or pattern the right way on the concave side, by which means every thing but one letter, namely the G, is inverted on the other.

THE margin, which is only ornament, seems to be entirely embossed, or the work of the chissel, there being no appearance of the work on the other side.

THE letters then on the convex side, where they are the fairest, are E G O V S U; all which being inverted, when they are made to stand upright, are, E G O  $\Lambda$   $\varrho$   $\Omega$ , Which I interpret “Ego Alpha “et Omega,” the A wanting the cross stroke, as is common, and the reversed S being an usual abbreviation of Et. Mr. Thwaites calls this the *little* character  $\Sigma$ , but I don't know why, since it is of the size of the other letters. The character he deduces from the Anglo-Saxon, which is certainly very unnatural if it is to stand that way he gives it: But if it be reversed, as is alledged above, then it may probably be, that Anglo-Saxon character rounded at the corners, or rather that other mark  $\overline{E}$ , which he gives us p. 182, so rounded. And it is certain, that upon the English coins, both gold and silver, from Edward III to Edward VI inclusive, the  $\Sigma$  or Et generally stands that way. Mr. Thwaites, moreover, overlooks two of the Letters, the first and third, and takes the G for a C; but it is evidently a G in Mr. Wise's plate; and the letters E G O are very conspicuous upon the jewel on the obverse or convex side, and I cannot but wonder he should miss them, and much more that Mr. Wise should dispute the existence of both of them, and the rest of the letters, which, I think, must be undoubted by every body else.

THESE now are all the letters and characters I can perceive, the strokes preceding the E being intended for another purpose, as will appear hereafter.

THE head therefore, in the second place, is not an Angel, or the Blessed Virgin, or other holy woman, as has been supposed, but  
our

our Saviour. The legend plainly alludes to Rev. i. 8. and you may observe the cross placed before his face, and rays of glory (which at first sight some may take for letters), issuing from the dress or ornament of his head; for what Mr. Thwaites above calls a triple crown, is nothing else but an antique head dress, something like what we have on the coins of Burgred, King of Mercia, in whose territory the jewel was found. See Sir Andr. Fountaine's Tab. Burgred, N<sup>o</sup>. 17—23.

I WOULD willingly therefore, thirdly, refer the piece to the Mercian kingdom, the G being of a form sometimes used in that country (see my Dissertation on the Coin of Apb. Wulfstan) and to the Reign of King Burgred, who was living when King Aelfred came to the crown, and flourished in the middle of the ninth century. But if any gentleman, on account of the inscription A 2 Ω, would chuse to place it an hundred years later, when the allusion to that Apocalyptic description of our Saviour was much in vogue, namely, in the reign of Ethelred II, as appears from his money in Sir Andr. Fountaine's first plate, I will not greatly contest it with him. Whichever of these opinions is true, the jewel can have no relation to Edward the Confessor, and his pretended cures; but nevertheless, as there are certain holes in it for a silken string or small ruban to pass through, I think it highly probable, in the last place, that it was intended to be worn about the neck by way of ornament, or perhaps of an Amulet or charm, according to Mr. Thoresby. And this, I think, much more likely than the conjecture of Mr. Wise, that it was intended for the boss or ornament of a book or some other piece of household furniture, by reason that the said holes are placed near together, and not opposite to one another, in different parts of the margin or border, which surely they would have been, had the jewel been intended to have been fastened to any other substance.

QUERE, whether this be not the oldest piece of chased work at this day extant?

October, 1751.

SAMUEL PEGGE.



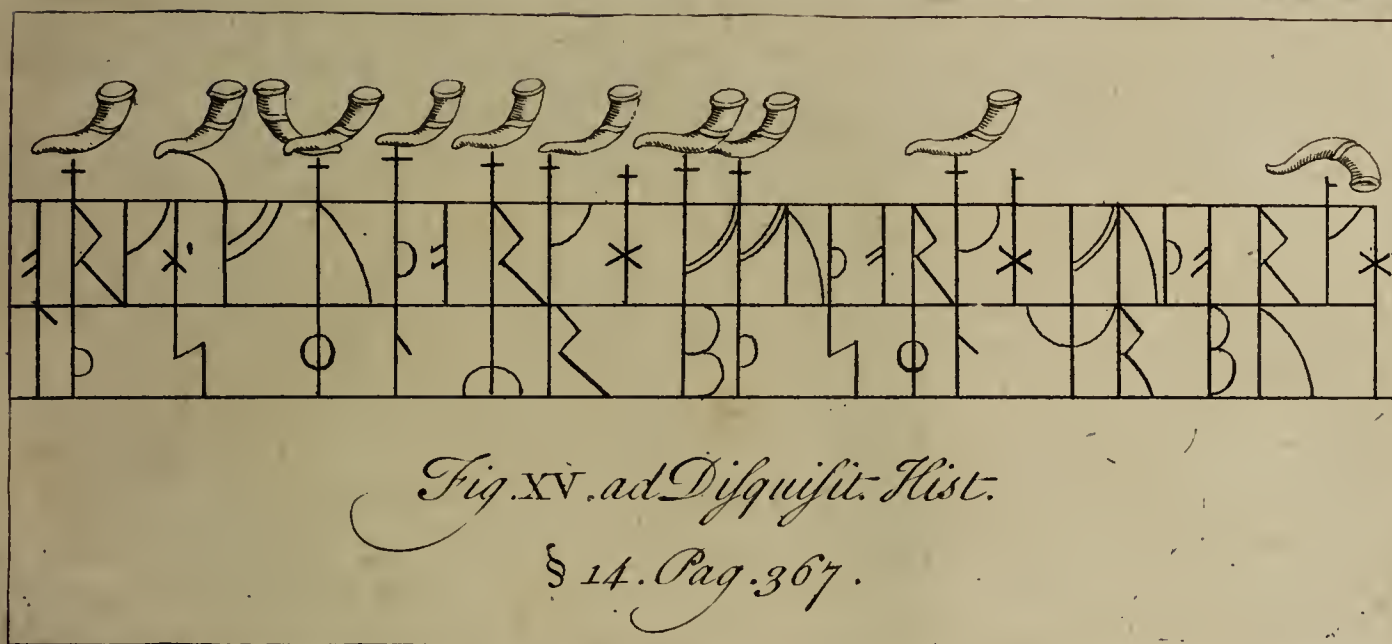
XXXIX. *An Historical Dissertation upon the antient Danish Horn, kept in the Cathedral Church of York. Anno Domini MDCCXVIII. By Samuel Gale, Esquire: Presented by Dr. Stukely to the Antiquarian Society, February 20, 1755; together with a Runic Plate.*

THOUGH many of the Antiquities of Britain have been so accurately described and illustrated by the learned of our nation, that we have as large and valuable a treasure of this kind as any of our neighbours; yet, in so vast a field, it is impossible but some things must have slipped by unregarded, or have been but transiently mentioned; a nearer and more particular view of which, as well as a further enquiry into their origin, I presume, would not be altogether unacceptable; so that what at first might seem to have had but a slender foundation, would become settled upon the immoveable basis of Reason and Truth.

AMONGST others, the subject I have chosen at present to treat of, is the Antient Danish Horn, given to the church of York by Ulphus, a Prince of that nation, who governed in the western part of Deira, that division of the antient kingdom of Northumberland, which was bounded by the river Humber southwards, and to the north, by the Tyne; and continued so distinguished under the Danes.<sup>[a]</sup> but is now better known by the name of Yorkshire, and the five other northern counties of England.

THIS venerable piece of Antiquity I shall endeavour to set in a true light, by enquiring into its history, and offering such evidences as may clear and illustrate the whole.

<sup>[a]</sup> Polychronicon R. Higdeni, Oxon. p. 202.



The Plate referred to in the Title of this Article is copied by Keyfler, in his *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, from Verelius's Notes on *Hervarar Saga*; and represents a Runic Almanac, expressing certain Days of Festivity from St. Thomas's Day to the 14th of January. The last of these Days is marked with the Horn reversed, to shew the Expiration of the Festival.—This was one of the principal Uses to which these Instruments were applied by the Northern Nations; different indeed from that of Ulfus, though, probably, his Horn might have originally served the same Purpose.





OF all the curiosities which a traveller sees, in visiting the great church of York, nothing can more merit the sedulous notice of an Antiquary, than that large vessel of ivory which is kept in the sacristy there, and is called Ulphus's horn; it having been, most probably, a drinking cup belonging to this prince, and was by him given, together with all his lands and revenues, to the church aforementioned. The particular manner and solemnity of which donation the learned Camden gives us from an antient book; that so strange a custom of endowing churches in former times might be known:

“DOMINABATUR [i] Ulphus ille in occidentali parte Deirae, et  
 “propter altercationem filiorum suorum, senioris et junioris, super  
 “dominiis post mortem mox omnes fecit aequae pares. Nam in-  
 “dilato Eboracum divertit, et cornu, quo bibere consuevit, vino  
 “replevit, et coram altari, Deo et beato Petro, Apostolorum prin-  
 “cipi, omnes terras et redditus flexis genibus propinavit.” Which  
 horn (says he) was kept there till the last age, as I have been in-  
 formed.

AFTER Camden, Sir William Dugdale relates the same fact, but with some additional circumstances:

“ABOUT this time also, Ulphe the son of Thorald, who ruled  
 “in the west of Déira, by reason of the difference which was like  
 “to rise between his sons, about the sharing of his lands and lord-  
 “ships after his death, resolved to make them all alike; and there-  
 “upon, coming to York, with that horn wherewith he was used  
 “to drink, filled it with wine, and before the altar of God, and  
 “Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, kneeling devoutly, drank the  
 “wine, and by that ceremony enfeoffed this church with all his  
 “lands and revenues. The figure of which horn, in memory there-  
 “of, is cut in stone upon several parts of the choir, but the horn  
 “itself, when the Reformation in King Edward the VIth's time

[i] Camdeni Brit. in BRIG. impress. Lond. 1600.



“ began, and swept away many costly ornaments belonging to this  
 “ church, was sold to a goldsmith, who took away from it  
 “ those tipplings of gold wherewith it was adorned, and the gold  
 “ chain affixed thereto; since which, the horn itself, being cut in  
 “ ivory in an eight-square form, came to the hands of Thomas late  
 “ Lord Fairfax, in whose possession I saw it in the year 1666 [i]”.

AND thus relying upon the authority of our two great Antiquaries for their account of this affair in general, I am now to enquire in particular, at what time this liberal endowment was made.

THE better to effect this, I shall beg leave to look back into the history of the first founders and benefactors to this antient church of York. From which series, and the usage of those early times, I doubt not but that we shall receive some light. Accordingly, I shall commence from the year of Christ 627; at which time this episcopal see and church was founded, and built under the Saxon heptarchy, by Edwyn the victorious King of the Northumbrians, who had been converted to Christianity by the preaching of Paulinus, sent hither for that purpose, and was baptized in the church of Saint Peter in York, which the King had erected of wood only, for the more decent celebration of that office; as venerable Bede fully relates, and then immediately adds: “ In qua etiam civitate, ipse doctori atque antistiti suo, Paulino, sedem episcopatus donavit.”

HIS next successor, King Oswald [l], finished a second church of stone begun in the same place, but left imperfect by Edwin, granting every where, throughout his dominions, large possessions and endowments to religious uses. This Prince began his reign anno 633.

AFTER this it appears, that King Athelstan, Anno 930, gave a great parcel of lands, being a large part of that territory in Lan-

[k] Dugdale's Hist. Account of the cath. church of York, p. 7. London, 1715.

[l] Bedae Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 8.

[m] Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 3,

cashire, called Ahemundernefs “quandam [n] non modicam telluris  
“particulam.” The boundaries of which are recited by Dugdale [o],  
and thought to contain near a fourth part of that Shire.

KING Eadwi, nephew to Athelstan, conferred, Anno 958, twenty-  
two mansion houses in Southwell, in Nottinghamshire [p]. “Con-  
“cedo partem telluris meae, ubi dicitur ad Sudwellam, in heredita-  
“tem, cum pascuis, pratis, filvis, &c.”

NEXT succeeded King Edgar, and he bestows twenty mansion  
houses at Scireburn, in Yorkshire, “cum campis, pascuis, pratis,  
“filvis, &c.”

THEN King Cnute, the Dane, as it appears by a charter in the  
Monasticon, grants to the church of York forty-three mansion  
houses in Pattrington, in Yorkshire, with all the lands thereunto  
belonging, in which he is stiled, “Angligenarum omniumque  
“gentium fecus habitantium Rex [q];” and bears date Anno  
MXIII°. Though I cannot omit observing here, that this char-  
ter is not genuine, or that the transcriber must be mistaken in  
its date; for at this time Cnute was neither King of Denmark  
or England, his father Suane being then living; nor was it till the  
year MXVII°, that he was first recognized by some of the Bishops,  
Abbats and Nobles, for their King; the other part setting up  
Edmund Ironside in opposition to him. “Londonienses vero, cum  
“nonnulla parte procerum, Edmundum Ferreum-latus in Regem  
“levaverunt [r].” And after much bloodshed the kingdom was  
divided between them. To the latter were assigned, by agreement,  
the West Saxons, and all the South; to Cnute the Mercians, and  
the North; and till the death of Edmund (the year following)  
he was not esteemed Monarch of England; so that I should rather

[n] Monasticon Anglic. Vol. III. p. 129.

[o] Ibid. Hist. Account of the cath. church, York, p. 6.

[p] Monast. Angl. Vol. III. p. 129.

[q] Ibid. p. 130.

[r] Polychron Higden. lib. vi. p. 273.



choose to fix the time of his donation in the year MXXXII<sup>o</sup>, at his return from Rome, where he had been, according to the vogue of those times, upon the account of devotion, and to expiate for some offences. Our historians are full of his acts of charity about that time, such as his giving great alms, his building and dedicating a church [s] to Saint Edmund at Bury, whom his countrymen Hinquar and Hubba had slain. His donation [t] of Sandwich to the church of Canterbury. His [u] granting a privilege to the abbey of Glastonbury, dated Anno 1032. And [x] this same year he goes into Scotland, where he subdues, and receives homage of Malcolm, and two other Kings there: In his return from whence, and in gratitude for his success, 'tis easy to infer, that he made his two other great offerings; the one to the church at Durham, "Dedit ecclesiae S. Cuthberti, Standrop, cum omnibus suis appendiciis [y], &c. Dedit Canutus etiam villam quae Bruntoun appellatur." And the other above mentioned, to Saint Peter at York, as he had lately done to the same Saint at Rome.

THUS then the now peaceable and pious reign of the victorious Cnute naturally leads me to the main subject of this discourse, viz. the donation of Ulphus, the next great benefactor; who, being a Dane, and governing in the western part of Deira, where, and in the city of York itself, he held large possessions, probably the rewards of his military exploits and courage in assisting Cnute to reduce and conquer these northern parts, and who, having the example of his royal master before him, might from thence be induced to make the like princely donation; the time I take to have been a little after the death of King Cnute, which happened Anno

[s] Simeon Dunelmensis.

[t] Chronicon Sax. p. 153.

[u] Gulielm. Malmſbury, de Antiquitate Glastoniensis eccles. edit. Oxon. p. 323.

[x] Chron. Sax. p. 154.

[y] Lelandi Collect. Tom. I. pars ii. p. 378.

MXXXVI°, when that controversy arose between the sons of Ulphus about sharing their father's lands.

'TIS certain that the subsequent writer of the affairs of the church of York, whom I have transcribed from an antient manuscript in the Cottonian library, puts it out of dispute, that it must have been soon after King Cnute; this donation of Ulphus, as well as those preceding, being all recited and confirmed by King Edward the Confessor, who succeeded to the kingdom within [z] six years after the decease of Cnute. But to our MS. whose verse, I hope, will be excused considering the age.

De libertatibus et possessionibus datis per Adelstanum et alios [a].

Per varios Reges dispersum mobile regnum  
 Suscipit unitum Regis diademate dignum  
 Primus Adelstanus, Regum fuit ipse Monarcha,  
 Nam reliquos Reges subdidit Ille sibi.  
 Ipsius Imperio subiecta sit Insula quaeque,  
 Et parent pariter Obsequio procures;  
 Perdomuit Scotos, fundens pia vota Johanni  
 pontifici, gladio saeva cavata docent.  
 Hic libertates, regalia juraque cessa  
 Praedia nobilia contulit Ecclesiae,  
 Dum flatu nares, dum visu gaudet ocellus,  
 Regia donata perpetuare iubens  
 Edwynus Edgarus Ethelredus quoque Knutus  
 Multiplicat dona tempore quisque suo.  
 Consul et insignis Eboracensis Comes Alfus  
 Praedia prebendis prebuit Ille sua,  
 Tradens et Eborae Cornu, Petroque sigillum.  
 Investituram constituit solidam,  
 Cornea buccina candida lucida testificatur

[z] Chron. Sax. p. 157.

[a] Cod. MS. Bib. Cotton. Cleopatra, cap. iv. p. 25. N°. 2.



Munus et ezimium largissimum Comitibus;  
 Sanctus et Eobardus Rex Confessor venerandus  
 Omnis confirmat et recitando probat,  
 Summi Pontifices cathedra Petri residentes  
 Censuris gravibus singula consolidant,  
 Ornant Pontifices meritos Primatis honore  
 Legatos statuunt sedis Apostolicae.

It is to be observed, that in the MS. before us, Ulphus is stiled  
 “ Consul, et insignis Comes;” which titles however, of Consul, and  
 Earl, I take to be synonymous terms, implying the same office, and  
 was a very high post of honour, and frequent among the Danes in  
 England. “ Vox enim *Earle* non Saxonica, sed Danica est [b].”  
 Of this opinion also, I find our accurate Historian Mr. Tyrrell [c],  
 in his General Introduction, where, treating of the title of *Earle*  
 or *Eorle*, he adds “ which, being altogether Danish, was not  
 “ commonly used here till the time of King Cnute, though we  
 “ now and then find it mentioned in our annals before his time;”  
 but as for its power and authority, he tells us “ it was much  
 “ the same with that great office and title among the Saxons of  
 “ *Ealdorman*; and they were frequently stiled in Latin, Subreguli,  
 “ Principes, et Consules, in some of our antient charters, and some-  
 “ times in Saxon, Cýningr, i. e. petty Kings; had the subordinate  
 “ government of cities, counties, and often too of whole provinces,  
 “ in all affairs both civil and military.” Let this suffice to assert the  
 dignity of our Ulphus. In the next verse we have a particular  
 account of his liberality, where we find he gave all manours and  
 possessions; Prebendes, by which our writer means, the common  
 support and maintenance of all the Canons or Prebendaries belong-  
 ing to Saint Peter’s; and this agrees exactly with the antient state  
 of this church, in which the Canons lived together upon the com-

[b] Aelfredi Magni Vita per Spelman, in notis, p. 81.

[c] Hist of England, Tyrrell, General Introduction.

mon patrimony, and at one table, as in a college or society; and continued so, till a little after the Norman Conquest; at which time Thomas of Bayon, archbishop of York, divided the church lands into prebends, and assigned a particular part to every Canon:

“Annis plurimis, Canonicis sic vescentibus, consilio quorundam placuit Archiepiscopo, de terra S. Petri, quae multum adhuc vasta erat, singulis praebendas partiri; ita enim et Canonicorum numerus crescere posset, et quisquis sicut pro se, partem suam studiose et aedificaret et excoleret, quod et sic factum est [d].”

AND that some part of the Terra Ulfi (of which more hereafter) was allotted for that prebend, which bears the name of Ulf to this day, to honour and perpetuate his memory by this Archbishop, is no improbable conjecture; and I am further induced to think, that it was the very manor where Ulphus chiefly resided, and from whence, upon the quarrel of his sons, he immediately came to York, it being about six miles from that metropolis. And in an old taxation of this prebend of Ulfskelf, I find the account following:

**Ulfskelf.**

Ad Prebendam de Ulfskelf est quoddam Manerium sufficiens Praebendae redditus,

|               | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i>  |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Sum. Total.   | XXXIII    | VII       | ob. q.     |
| Refumptiones, |           | LXXVII    | IIII       |
| Ita restant   | XXIX      | IX        | III ob. q. |

ITEM in Marisco, potest Dominus habere **Stair**, pro coopertura domorum [e].

OUR historical MS. adds these observable circumstances.

**Tradens ez Eboe Cornu, Petroque sigillum.**  
**Investituram constituit solidam.**

[d] Lelandi Collectan. Vol. II. p. 337.

[e] MS. Cod. Bib. Cott. Claud. N<sup>o</sup>. 3. p. 194.



THAT Ulphus confirmed this investiture, not only by the delivery of the horn aforementioned, but gave with it his Seal also, at the same time. All which, no doubt, was performed with great solemnity, the Archbishop with his clergy assisting at the ceremony. But the Seal hath for many years, I may say ages, been irrecoverably lost, nor other memory of it remaining, save this in our MS.

I SHALL now consider the antient usage and practice of the times in which this investiture and donation was made. 'Tis very certain, that this manner of endowing was usual among the Danes here in England, and especially in the time of King Cnute, and we have a very remarkable instance of it from this King himself [*f*], who gave lands at Pusey in Berkshire, to the family of that name, with a horn solemnly at that time delivered, as a confirmation of the grant, which, Camden saith, they held in his time, and, as I am informed, the horn is still there to be seen.

NOT long after this, and what one may call about the same time, the difference of five or six years being very inconsiderable, I find the like donation made by King Edward the Confessor, which being so judiciously remarked by one of our great Antiquaries, I shall give you the relation in his own words :

“ THE pious King (saith he) bore a more especial relation to these parts by his frequent residence at Britt. in Com. Buck. where he had a royal palace, to which he retired for the pleasures of hunting in his forest of Bernwood. It is to this Prince, and to his diversion at this seat, that we must ascribe the traditional story of the family of Nigel, and the manor of Borstall, on the edge of the said forest. Most part of the tradition is confirmed by good authority, and runs to this effect [*g*]:

“ THE forest of Bernwood was much infested by a wild boar, which was at last slain by one Nigel a huntsman, who presented

[*f*] Camden's Brit. in Berks.

[*g*] Parochial Antiquities by Kennet, p. 51.

“ the boar’s head to the King ; and for a reward the King gave to  
 “ him one Hyde of arable land, called Dere Hyde, and a wood,  
 “ called Hulewood, with the custody of the forest of Bernwood,  
 “ to hold to him and to his heirs, from the King, per unum cornu,  
 “ quod est charta praedictae Forestae.”

THEN after some circumstances from the chartulary of Borstall (which for brevity I omit) he adds :

“ AND what is of greatest authority, the original horn, tipt at  
 “ each end with silver gilt, fitted with wreaths of leather to hang  
 “ about the neck, with an old brass ring that bears the rude impress  
 “ of a horn, a plate of brass with the sculpture of a horn, and several  
 “ other less plates of brass with Flower de Lucies, which were the  
 “ arms of Lisures, who intruded into this estate and office soon  
 “ after the reign of William the Conqueror, has been all along  
 “ preserved under the name of Nigel’s horn by the Lords of Borstall,  
 “ and is now in the custody of Sir John Aubrey, Baronet,” &c.

So that from hence it appears, that not only the Danes, but the English Saxons also, were very well acquainted with this antient usage and custom ; thus Ingulphus, Abbot of Crowland, who lived and writ under the reign of the Conqueror, acquaints us, that it continued down to his time.

“ CONFEREbantur primo multa praedia nudo verbo absque  
 “ scripto vel charta, tantum cum Domini gladio, vel galea, vel  
 “ cornu, vel cratera ; et plurima tenementa cum calcari, cum strigili,  
 “ cum arcu, et nonnulla cum fagitta. Sed haec initio regni  
 “ fui, posterioribus annis immutatus est iste modus [b].”

AND the learned Mabillon writing upon this subject, adds :

“ PERSEVERAVIT diu ritus iste apud Danos, quibus donationes  
 “ per Scottationem facere mos erat etiam tempore Innocentii III,  
 “ i. e. saeculo XIII<sup>o</sup>.) Forma autem haec erat, ut in ejusmodi donationibus  
 “ modicum terrae in manu acciperent, vel in extremitate

[b] Ingulfus, Edit. Oxon. p. 70.



“ pallii, quod manu praelati ecclesiae sustineretur, aut super altare  
 “ ponendum sub testimonio videntium et audientium sub dicta for-  
 “ ma, quae Scottatio vulgariter appellatur ; a voce Germanica *Scot*,  
 “ quae vectigal tributumve significat [i].”

BUT this passage I take to relate to the Danes in general ; as to the antiquity of this and the like customs, it seems to have preceded even the use of charters among the Saxons here, if we may rely upon the authority of the great Spelman.

“ AD tollendam hanc dubitationem conducit maxime consuetudi-  
 “ nem nosse vetusti illius seculi, rudis etiam et inertis populi, qui  
 “ non tantum praedia soliti sunt conferre sine scripto (quod et hodie  
 “ valeat cum debita cerimonia) sed etiam, ut asseritur, libertates et  
 “ privilegia usque ad tempora Witheredi Regis Cantii, qui regnum  
 “ iniisse dicitur circa annum Domini nostri 700, et edidisse chartam  
 “ primam vel diploma scriptum, quod et Cantuariæ conservari voluit  
 “ ad exemplar edendorum aliorum illiusmodi pro ecclesiae uniuscu-  
 “ jusque beneficio. Videntur igitur chartae et diplomata quae an-  
 “ terioris proferuntur dati, adulterina fore et suspectae fidei [k], &c.”

By which suffrage it appears, that many of the charters written in Saxon were spurious, and the most antient and authentic no earlier than the time of Withred King of Kent, about the year 700. But not being willing to be thought too severe a censor, I shall pass on to my intended design, observing only, that it was customary for those churches which had been endowed and invested with lands by the giving of a horn, or any such like pledge, after thirty years possession, in case of any dispute or enquiry, to produce the Tesseræ, or plead prescription.

“ QUAE Tesseræ [l] posteris erat in monumentum factae dona-  
 “ tionis, unde in sacratio, vel in archivo servari solebat. Apposite

[i] Mabillon, de Re Diplomatica, lib. i. cap. 5.

[k] Spelmanni Consilia, Tom. I. p. 125.

[l] De Re Diplomatica, lib. iii. cap. 4.

“ hoc in loco eximius Sirmundus, quinetiam exstant ait hodieque in  
 “ Sancti Albini [*m*] coenobio et in aliis plerisque veteris moris monu-  
 “ menta, baculi, inquam, et chirothecae, et alia investiturarum [*n*]  
 “ traditionumque quas signarunt, titulis inscripta.”

HAVING thus, from these concurrent testimonies, shewn the usual practice of those antient times, in which the investiture and donation of Ulfus was made, as well as of the succeeding ages, I shall now, as a further and undeniable evidence of that fact, enquire what particular lands the church of York held by virtue of this tenure.

ACCORDINGLY I find frequent mention of the **Terra Ulfi** in an inquisition taken in the time of Edward the 1st, which is as follows :

“ INQUISITIO libertatum Sancti Petri infra civitatem Eborum  
 “ cum suburbiis ejusdem, capta 15 Kal. Aprilis Anno Domini  
 “ MCCLXXV, et Anno Regis Edvardi filii Regis Henrici quarto, co-  
 “ ram Roberto de Nevill, Alex. de Kirkton, Joh. de Reygate,  
 “ Wichardo de Charrun, et Willielmo de Northburgh, et jurati  
 “ dicunt, scil. Nicholas Wake, Henr. filius Conani, Will. de  
 “ Holtby, Galfrid Goband, &c. milites.

“ DICUNT quod Bederna est de terra B. Petri, &c. et major pars  
 “ est de communia de terra **Ulfi**, et quaedam pars est de Feodo  
 “ Archiepiscopi, &c.

“ INQUISITIO Sancti Petri in suburbio Eborum. Juratores dicunt  
 “ super juramentum suum, quod tota illa pars de **Bunkgate**  
 “ versus boream ab ecclesia Sancti Mauricii usque ad viam regiam  
 “ juxta **fosse**, est de feodo Sancti Petri, de terra Ulfi, et de prae-benda  
 “ de Frydaythorp, et sunt ibi tot tofta, scil. 42 tofta, cum ortis  
 “ usque croftum Domini Abbatis retro ; et per rectas divisas.

[*m*] In Suburbio civitatis Andegavenfis, Angers.

[*n*] Vide pag. 23.

[*o*] Monastic. Anglic. Vol. iii. p. 154.



“ JURATORES dicunt quod tota illa terra de **Bouthum**, a  
 “ domo quae quondam fuit Tho. de Parchemen, usque ad terram quae  
 “ quondam fuit Gazonis de Ehaum, est de feodo Sancti Petri, perti-  
 “ nens ad thesaurarium Eborum, et de terra Ulfi non est Geldab.

“ ITEM tota illa terra quae jacet a terra Adae Sampsonis usque  
 “ terram Roberti le Cordiwaner, est de feodo Sancti Petri, pertinens  
 “ ad praebendam de Strenfall, et est de terra Ulfi :

“ ITEM tota illa terra quae jacet a terra Domini Abbatis Eborum  
 “ usque barram de **Bouthum**, est de feodo Sancti Petri, pertinens  
 “ ad thesaurarium Eborum, et jacet a regia strata usque **Renyndike**  
 “ retro, et cimiterium Sancti Egidii, est de feodo Sancti Petri, et  
 “ de terra Ulfi nec est Geldab.”

Not less remarkable is that which the magnificent founders of the present fabrick have done, gratefully to perpetuate the donation, by causing the horn to be carved in Bas-relief over the great arches of the nave and choir of the cathedral; the first built by William de Melton, the latter by John Thoresby, both Archbishops of York, near four hundred years ago.

NEITHER is it to be doubted that Ulfus had his name written in the book of benefactors, which in this, as well as other antient churches, was carefully preserved, and upon their anniversaries, for their more solemn commemoration, was used to be placed on the high altar. Thus in the neighbouring church of Durham this rite continued till the Reformation :

“ THERE did lie on the high altar an excellent fine book [*p*],  
 “ very richly covered [*q*] with gold and silver, containing the names  
 “ of all the benefactors towards Saint Cuthberth’s church, from the  
 “ first original foundation thereof; the very letters of the book be-

[*p*] Antient Rites and Monuments of Durham, by Davis, p. 28.

[*q*] The rich cover of this is now lost, the present being modern, of red leather, with the arms of the Cottons in Gold on each; but in the first leaf of the book, being written on vellum, are these verses :

Textus hoc argento tegmen pulgebat et auro  
 Intus ut Abbatum Nomina celsa Regum.

“ ing for the most part all gilt, as is apparent in the said book till this  
 “ day. The laying that book on the high altar did shew how highly  
 “ they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the quotidian re-  
 “ membrance they had of them in time of mass and divine service, &c.”  
 This very book is now preserved in the Cottonian Library, Domitian  
 VII. 2. as well as the *Necrologion*, five *Obituarium Vetus*,  
 formerly belonging to the church of Canterbury, Nero, c. ix. 1.  
 So also (if we look into foreign countries) at the royal abbey of  
 Saint Denis in France, was kept a book of their benefactors, amongst  
 whom Theodetrude, a noble lady, gives certain lands to that mo-  
 nastery, Anno 672, upon this very condition, that her name should  
 be written in the book of life ; what that was, the historian clearly  
 explains :

“ CE livre de vie estoit ce nécrologe que l'on gardoit dans le  
 “ monastere. Le nom de bienfauteurs, et le jour de leur mort, y  
 “ estoient écrits, on prononçoit leurs noms à la messe, comme il se  
 “ voit par l'ancienne liturgie dont l'on se servoit en France, avant  
 “ que l'ordre Romain y eust este reçu sous le regne de Pepin [r].”

BUT to return, though no such book of York now appears (buried perhaps in private hands, or probably defaced by age), yet from this foundation, the uniform tradition to this day, concerning the horn, must have taken its rise. However, not to insist upon this, it is certain, that it was remaining amongst many other ornaments, and preserved in the sacristy at York, in the time of King Henry the VIIIth, and is thus enumerated in an inventory belonging to this church, some time before the Reformation :

“ ITEM unum magnum cornu de ebore ornatum cum argento  
 “ deaurato, ex dono Ulfi, filii Thoraldi, cum zona annexa, ex  
 “ dono magistri Johannis Newton, Thesaurarii [s].”

BUT in another, which I have in manuscript, sent me by the Reverend Mr. Neile of Northallerton, made in King Edward the

[r] Histoire de l'Abbaye R. de St. Denys, par Felibien, p. 7.

[s] Mon. Ang. Vol. iii. p. 173.



Sixth's time, and in four more, collated by Mr. Thoresby of Leeds, it is omitted, having been taken away and fold, as before observed. Where it lay from that time till it came very fortunately into the hands of Thomas Lord Fairfax the General, I find no account; but he being himself a lover of Antiquities took care to preserve it during the confusions of the civil war, and whose memory is still deservedly honoured for other generous acts of this nature; such as his allowing Mr. Dodsworth the Antiquary a yearly salary to preserve the inscriptions in churches, the giving his valuable MSS. to the university of Oxford, and his preserving the public library there, as he did the cathedral at York, from being spoiled and defaced after the surrender of that city; he dying Anno 1671, it came into the possession of his next relation, Henry Lord Fairfax, who restored it back again to its first repository, where it now remains a noble monument of modern, as well as antient piety.

As to its present condition, its beauty is not in the least impaired by age, it being of ivory: The carving is very durable, and is ornamented in the circumference at the larger extremity, with the figures of two griffins, a lion, unicorn, dogs and trees interspersed, in Bas-relief, and where the plates are fixed, with a foliage after the taste of those times.

My Lord Fairfax hath supplied the want of the plates which did antiently embellish this horn, honoured in all probability with the name of the donor, the loss of which original inscription can only be lamented, not retrieved. Those at present, with the chain all of silver, gilt, this noble Lord hath caused to be thus inscribed:

CORNV HOC VLPHVS, IN OCCIDENTALI PARTE DEIRAE PRINCEPS  
VNACVM OMNIBVS TERRIS ET REDDITIBVS SVIS OLIM DONAVIT:  
AMISSVM VEL ABREPTVM.

HENRICVS D<sup>r</sup> FAIRFAX DEMVM RESTITVIT,  
DEC. ET CAP. DE NOVO ORNAVIT AN. DOM. 1675.

XL. *A Dissertation on Julius Caesar's Passage over the River Thames.* By Samuel Gale, Esquire.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, January 9, 1734-5.

THE passage of Julius Caesar over the river Thames, to attack the famous Cassivellaun, and the army of Britons under his command, who were drawn up upon the opposite bank to hinder his crossing there, is a matter of so great antiquity, that, though it has been in general well attested by several historians, yet, as to the particular place where this remarkable event happened, there have been various opinions and conjectures; which for brevity omitting, I shall endeavour to set this affair in as clear a light as possible, by laying before you the most authentic evidences.

In order to do this, it will be necessary, first, to enquire into the time when Caesar forced his passage over the Thames. This, he tells us, was done in his second expedition into Britain, from Gaul [t] (in the consulate of Domitius Aenobarbus, and Claudius Pulcher, in the year of Rome 699; and 54th year before the nativity of Christ), when he sailed from the Portus Iccius in the territories of the Morini; touching the situation of which port, there have been so many contests among the literati. Some place it at Ostend, others at Newport, Gravelin, Dunkirk, Mardyc, Calais, Wistan Vie, now Estaplas, and even at Saint Omer's. But our Antiquary Somner has settled it at Boulogn, the antient and famous Gessoriacum Morinorum. After having invalidated the different conjectures of

[t] De Bello Gallico, lib. v.



the writers upon this port, he says, “Certe eorum qui sunt paulo  
 “vetustiores, est et propinquissimus, et amplissimus, et commo-  
 “dissimus omnium qui in eo littore reperiuntur [u]:” and in ano-  
 ther place, “Quod ad me attinet, ego non diutius, quasi ea opini-  
 “onum varietate territus, de portu Iccii haesitabo; sed cum Vel-  
 “fero, Cluverio, Bertioque Bononiae colloco; parum veritus affe-  
 “verare portum Bononiensem esse Julii Caesaris portum Ic-  
 “cium [x].”

IN Antonine's Itinerary of Britain, it is mentioned as the prin-  
 cipal port from whence the Romans sailed to our Island, “A  
 “Gefforiaco de Galliis, Rutupis in portu Britanniarum.”

THE Peutinger table is express, that Gefforiacum and Bononia  
 are the same port; for there amongst the Morini we meet with Gef-  
 “feriaco quod nunc Bononia [y].” But the old name Gefforiacum  
 was changed for Bononia about the time of Constantine the  
 Great; for Eumenius, in his panegyric, spoke in honour of  
 Constantius Chlorus, mentions it twice; first, by “Gefforiacen-  
 “ses muros,” and afterwards, “a Gefforiacensi littore:” But speak-  
 ing of the same place in the panegyric to his son Constantine, he  
 calls it “Bononiensis oppidi littus [z].”

POMPONIUS MELA, who wrote a little after the expedition of  
 Claudius into Britain, says, “Nec [Morini] portu, quem Geforiacum  
 “vocant, quicquam habet notius [a].”

FLORUS, that Caesar set sail, “Tertia vigilia, mira celeritate,  
 “Morino a portu [b].”

AND Pliny calls it *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* “Portus Morinorum Britannicus [c].”

[u] Somner, Jul. Caesaris Portus Iccius, p. 76.

[x] German. Antiquit. lib. ii. p. 10.

[y] Antonin. Itiner. in initio.

[z] Descript. Historique, Geograph. de la France, antienne et moderne. Paris,  
 1722, Part I. p. 58.

[a] Lib. iii. cap. 2.

[b] Lib. iii. cap. 10.

[c] Lib. i. cap. 23.

ADD to these authorities, that the Roman military way terminates at Gessoriacum. There was also a Roman Pharos, which fell down in 1644.

MOUNTFAUCON [*d*] has given a view of it; but I could never hear of the least remain of that brave people at any other of the aforementioned ports. Where then can we more justly fix the Portus Iccius, than at Gessoriacum, the present Boulogne, where the learned Battley also places it [*e*] ?

If it be objected, that the distance from Gessoriacum to Rutupiae is too great according to the usual calculations, I answer, nothing certain can be concluded from thence, the number of miles between both being different in the various copies of the geographical charts and Itineraries, occasioned, no doubt, by the ignorance or carelessness of the transcribers; from whence it comes, that every little fishing creek along the Gaulic coast is mistaken for the celebrated Portus Iccius.

BUT to return from this digression: For by this time we shall find Caesar on the Kentish shore, landed at Rutupiae or Richborough; the Portus Britanniarum in Antonine's Itinerary.

WHICH place, I think, answers best to Caesar's description; who says, it was "apertum, planum, et molle littus;" for such is the shore at the mouth of the river that goes up to Richborough, and about eight miles or farther to the north of Dover Cliff; over against which Caesar in his first expedition anchored, but could not land there without the greatest peril; taking it for granted, that Caesar, in his second expedition, made the same port as in his first. And of this opinion, I find the greatest Antiquaries, Burton, Battley, and Horsley.

AND now, to come to the very place where Julius Caesar passed the Thames, it will be necessary to follow him from Rutupiae, in his march from thence to the banks of that celebrated river.

[*d*] In his Appendix.

[*e*] *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, p. 48.



THE judicious and indefatigable Mr. Horsley is of opinion, that the rout Caesar took was near upon the military way from Rutupiae (Richborough) to London: "For it is reasonable (says he) to suppose that they would have their first encampments, stations, and military ways, nearly in the rout, according to which they marched and carried on their conquests in the country." The rout I have pitched upon will, I believe, be found to be exactly agreeable to Caesar's account.

THE first motion was in the very night after the landing; in that Caesar marched twelve miles in quest of the enemy, who, retiring to a river, ventured there to engage the Romans, but were defeated. This river could by no means be the Thames, for that was too distant and great, and Caesar calls that by its name when he speaks of it. Now Durovernum (which is agreed upon by all to be Canterbury) is placed in the *Itin. Iter* of Antoninus, at twelve miles distance from *Portus Rutupienfis*, and stands upon the river Stour; it therefore appears to me very probable, the fight was on the banks of the river, and to the north of the town, and the strong place, to which the Britains retreated after their defeat, must have been Durovernum, which was taken and possibly kept till Caesar's return, by the seventh legion; and this might possibly be converted by the Romans into a station, as they treated several other towns in several states. Caesar, after he had repaired and ordered his ships, advances to the same place again, from whence he had retired; that is, he marches back again to Durovernum.

AFTER some skirmishes, related in the history, which seem to have taken up a good space of time, his next march was to the turn of the river Thames above London; thus far I agree with Mr. Horsley; but as he seems in the sequel of his discourse inclinable to determine this turn of the river, where Caesar forded over to attack Cassivelaun, to be at or near Kingston, I can by no means favour that opinion, and doubt not from several circumstances to demonstrate, that it was at another place, about  
seven

seven or eight miles up the river, near Otelands in Surry, where also there is a great turn of the river. Now, Caesar himself plainly describes this place to us by three remarkable criterions.

THE first, where he tells us Cassivelaun's confines were divided from the maritime states by the river Thames, about eighty miles distant from the sea, by which he must mean the Kentish Britons, and the place of his landing.

“SUMMA imperii bellicae administrandi communi consilio  
“permixta est Cassivelauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus  
“flumen dividit quod appellatur Thamefis, a mare circiter millia  
“passuum LXXX.” But of this more hereafter.

THE second, that here was the only ford over the river.

THE third, that it was fenced with sharp stakes at the bottom as well as on the opposite bank, on the north side of the river where he was to land.

“COGNITO eorum (i. e. Britanorum) consilio ad flumen  
“Thamefin in fines Cassivelauni exercitum duxit, quod flu-  
“men uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegrè, transiri  
“potest: eo quum venisset, animum advertit, ad alteram fluminis  
“ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas; ripa autem erat  
“acutis fudibus praefixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua  
“defixae fudes flumine tegebantur [*f*].”

THESE definitive words, “uno omnino loco,” entirely set aside all opinions of a ford at Kingston: where the Romans, built a bridge, but long after J. Caesar's time [*g*].

AND upon these strong evidences, I do not in the least doubt, our learned Camden founded his decisive suffrage in determining the situation of this ford, which I think he does with an uncommon energy.

[*f*] De Bello Gall. lib. v.

[*g*] Anton. Iter Britt. et T. Gale, p. 72.



“ It is impossible (says he [b]) I should be mistaken in the place,  
 “ because here the river is scarce six foot deep, and the place at  
 “ this day from the stakes is called Cowey-stakes. To which add,  
 “ that Caesar makes the bounds of Cassivelaun, where he settles  
 “ this passage of his to be about eighty miles from the sea, which  
 “ washes the east part of Kent, where he landed. Now, this ford  
 “ we mention, is about the same distance from the sea; and I am  
 “ the first that I know of, that has mentioned it, and settled it in  
 “ its proper place.”

I FIND that Milton [i] also agrees in this. I shall only produce one authority more, and that with regard particularly to the antiquity of the British stakes, which will fully evince the veracity of Caesar's account, as well as corroborate Mr. Camden's assertion. 'Tis that of venerable Bede [k], who lived in the seventh century, and thus mentions them:

“ QUARUM vestigia fudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur; et  
 “ videtur inspectantibus, quod singulae earum ad modum humani  
 “ femoris grossae, et circumfusae plumbo, immobiliter erant in pro-  
 “ fundum fluminis infixae.”

I HOPE it will not be thought improper here to take notice, that there is a large Roman encampment up in the country directly southward about a mile and a half distant from the ford, and pointing to it.

It is fortified with a double Vallum and ditches in a square form, situated upon the top of a very high hill; where it is natural to imagine Caesar entrenched him, as well to reconnoitre the country, as to give time to his fatigued troops to recover, after their difficult marches and various encounters with the Britons; and to wait for those that had been dispersed up and down the country; that being thus near the river he might be ready to exe-

[b] Camden's Brit. in Surrey.

[i] Hist. of Engl. p. 55.

[k] Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 2.

cute his grand design of passing the Thames with his whole force, and which he says was done “*ea celeritate atque impetu*,” that Cassivelaun and his Britons, at the sight of Caesar’s soldiers, horse and foot, plunging into the water, being intimidated, precipitately fled from the opposite bank (tho fortified with stakes) into their well known coverts and woods; and were closely pursued by the Romans, even to the Oppidum Cassivelauni (a fastness between two fens) which some think to have been the old Verulamium, others at Cassiobury; both in the Hundred of Cassiobury, in Hertfordshire. Be it either of these, it was soon taken, and Cassivelaun and the Britons obliged to give hostages for the payment of a certain tribute to the Romans; after which Caesar returns to Gaul.

As to the wood of these stakes, it proves its own antiquity, being by its long duration under the water so consolidated, as to resemble ebony, and will admit of a polish, and not in the least rotted. It is evident from the exterior grain of the wood, that the stakes were the entire bodies of young oak trees, there not being the least appearance of any mark of any tool to be seen upon the whole circumference, and, if we allow in our calculation for the gradual increase of growth towards its end, where fixed in the bed of the river, the stake, I think, will exactly answer the thickness of a man’s thigh, as described by Bede; but whether they were foldered with lead at the ends fixed in the bottom of the river, is a particular I could not learn; but the last part of Bede’s description is certainly just, that they are immoveable, and remain so to this day [1].

For a more particular account of this passage, the reader is referred to Baxter’s *Glossarium Britannicum*, Voc. CASSII et SUELLANIACIS.

[1] Since the writing of this, one of these stakes, entire, was actually weighed up between two loaded barges at the time of a great flood, by the late Reverend Mr. Clark junior, of Long Ditton.



*Of the Courts of Pypowder: By John Pettingall, D. D.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 4, 1762.

**B**Y the statute 17 Edward IV, 1477, it was provided, “ That  
 “ whereas divers fairs be holden and kept in this realm, some  
 “ by prescription, allowed before justices in Eyre, and some by the  
 “ grant of our Lord the King that now is, and some by the grants of  
 “ his predeceffors; and to every of the same fairs, is of right pertaining  
 “ a court of Pypowders, to minister in the same due justice in this be-  
 “ half, in which court it hath been at all times accustomed, that every  
 “ person coming to the said fairs should have lawful remedy of all  
 “ manner of contracts, trespasses, covenants, debts and other deeds,  
 “ made or done within any of the same fairs, during the time  
 “ of the same fair—and within the jurisdiction of the same, and to  
 “ be tried by merchants being of the same fair; which courts at this  
 “ day be misused by the stewards, under-stewards, bailiffs, commis-  
 “ sioners and other ministers, holding and governing the said courts  
 “ of the said fairs, for their private profit, holding pleas by complaints,  
 “ as well of contracts, debts, trespasses, and other feats, done and  
 “ committed out of the time of the said fair, or jurisdiction of the  
 “ same, whereof, in truth, they have no jurisdiction surmising the  
 “ same debts, trespasses, &c. to be done within the time of the  
 “ said fair, and within the jurisdiction of the same: Where, of truth,  
 “ they were not so; and some time by the device of evil disposed  
 “ people, several suits be feigned, and trouble them to whom they  
 “ bear evil will, to the intent that they for lucre may have favourable  
 “ inquests of those that came to the said fairs where they take their  
 “ actions—And whereas divers persons coming to the said fairs be  
 “ grievously vexed and troubled by feigned actions, and also by acti-  
 ons

“ons of debt, trespasss, deeds, and contracts, made and committed  
“out of the time of the said fair, or the jurisdiction of the same, con-  
“trary to equity and good conscience; whereby the Lords of the  
“fairs do lose great profit by the not coming of divers merchants to  
“fairs, which by this occasion do abstain, and also the commons  
“be unserved of such stuff and merchandise, which otherwise would  
“come to the said fairs,” &c.—Then comes the enacting clause,  
that the Plaintiff shall swear, that the cause in declaration happened  
in the time of the fair, &c.

It appears from what has been read of this statute, that the courts held in fairs, were called *Pypowder*, and were granted by the crown to tenants in Capite, and by them to other mean Lords, with a jurisdiction to hear and determine such causes and controversies as arose in the fairs, on occasion of covenants, trespasss, and contracts, there made, and none else.

THE matters amenable to these courts, originally were such as arose out of transactions on the spot, on account of contracts and other incidents relative to buying and selling; but by degrees, through the avarice and management of those that presided at them, they extended the jurisdiction to matters not properly within their cognizance, and consequently they became derogatory to the King's authority in his courts, and detrimental also to the Lords of the fairs, by discouraging dealers from frequenting them, through fear of oppression and false actions; to restrain these courts within their proper limits and confine them to their original jurisdiction, of meddling with nothing, but what happened during the time of the fair, was the design and intent of this statute.

WHY these courts were called *Pypowder*, various have been the conjectures of Lawyers and Antiquaries—But as nothing has been determined on that subject, and only opinions vague and unsupported have been thrown out, I would beg leave of the Society to offer what has occurred to me, which, perhaps, may throw a little more light and precision upon it, than we have hitherto met with.



In order therefore, to make this seemingly dry subject, as interesting and as entertaining as I can, I propose, First, to consider the origin of the fairs, and the courts attending them—which will lead,

SECONDLY, to the knowledge why they were called *Pypowder*.

FIRST, Of the origin of fairs and the courts attending them.

THIS enquiry will bring us into high antiquity, early as the time of the Roman model of government; which was the seed plot, from whence, by means of the northern nations, many of our laws and customs have been transplanted. What we call fairs, among them were called *Nundinae*, because they were held every ninth day; the reason for this periodical assembly we have in *Festus* [*m*], *Dionys. Halicarn.* and particularly *Macrobius*, who says after *Rutilius*, “*Romanos instituisse nundinas, ut octo quidem diebus*  
“*in agris rustici opus facerent, nono autem die, intermisso rure,*  
“*ad mercatum legesque accipiendas Romam venirent; et ut scita et*  
“*consulta frequentiore populo referrentur, quae trinundino die*  
“*proposita a singulis atque universis facile noscebantur; unde*  
“*etiam mos tractus, ut leges trinundino die promulgarentur.*”—  
i. e. Fairs were called by the Romans *Nundinae*, because they were kept every ninth day, that the people that lived in the country adjacent, might take care of their rural affairs for eight days, but every ninth, should come to the city to market, and at the same time to hear the laws propounded; and when a law had been thus proposed on three market or fair days—for the approbation of the people; on the third it was approved, passed into a law and was promulged, i. e. provulged—proclaimed as a law before the people—or *Vulgus*.

BUT these *Nundinae* at Rome being calculated only for those that lived in the neighbourhood of the city, in process of time, it became necessary to extend the commercial and legislative inter-

[*m*] *Festus* voc. *NUNDINAE*. *Dionys. Halicarn.* lib. ii. *Macrobi.* i *Saturnal.* c. 16.

course beyond the first instance and intention; and to make the more distant parts of the Italian colonies, partakers of the benefits arising from this institution.—Accordingly the chief magistrate had a power vested in him of granting the privilege of a fair, or “*Jus Nundinarum*,” to persons whose condition and estate in the colonies was sufficient to require it.—Hence it was, as Suetonius tells us, that the Emperor Claudius, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the people, affected to apply to the Consuls, as a private man, for the grant of a Fair on his estate——

“*Claudium Imperatorem jus nundinarum in sua praedia a Consulibus petiisse*”—In Claudio, Sect 12.

As the great concourse of people attending these markets or Fairs, and the several interests of the parties concerned in matters commercial, were likely to produce disputes and controversies, provision was made for preserving peace, and determining right, by the instituting of a judicial court that was to take cognizance of all persons and things, and to have absolute jurisdiction without appeal, in all matters of dissention or disorder arising within the *Nundinae*.

FROM this consideration of a court kept on that occasion, these *Nundinae* were also called *Fora*.—Varro says, under the word *Forum*—“*Quo conferrent suas controversias, et quae vendere vel lent, forum appellarunt*,” They called that *Forum*, where they used to bring their goods to be sold, and their controversies to be tried—LL. lib. 4. And Festus under the same word, “*Forum nundinationis locus, quod etiam in locis privatis, in viis et agris, fieri solet—Et in quo judicia fieri solent*.”—And Sigonius, *De antiquo jure Italiae*, lib. ii. says, that *Forum* had a double signification, “*Unam pro juris, alteram pro nundinationis loco*.—And it is most probable, that the “*Locus Nundinationis*” was called *Forum* only in reference to the court there held; for we may suppose, from what we have heard from Varro and Festus, that the fairs and the courts were inseparable among the Romans, in the same



manner, and for the same reason, as they were among our countrymen, as is declared in the act before us—"To every fair, of right, "pertaineth a court of Pypowders, to minister in the same due "justice."

OF this fair and court attending it we meet with a law of William the Conqueror, *De Emporiis*—"Item nullum mercatum "vel forum fit, nec fieri permittatur, nisi in civitatibus regni nostri, "et in burgis, castellis et locis tutissimis.——Sed omnia recte, "et in aperto, et per judicium et justitiam, fieri debent." Apud Hoveden et Lambard.

THE reason for this law seems to have been to prevent any mischief or oppression, from pretended judgments given in private; this seems to be implied by the words "omnia recte, et in aperto, et per judicium "et justitiam fieri debent"—which could not so well, and without objection, be performed, as "in civitatibus regni, burgis, castellis et "locis tutissimis"—where all was open and fair—under the inspection of the chief magistrates, and the view of all the people; this seems to be in contradistinction to that custom, whereby this court before was wont to be held "in privatis, in viis et agris"—as we have seen among the Romans out of Festus.

It is observable, that as among the Latins Forum had this double signification, so among the Greeks *αγορα* stood for "Forum "venalium et Forum judiciale"—which arose, as may justly be supposed, from some such reason as obtained among the Latins. Although we meet with nothing confessedly the same with these courts among the Greeks, yet we find that the great festivals of Greece were celebrated at fairs.—Justin, lib. xiii. 5. speaks of the publication of Alexander's Letters at the Olympic fair, "Recitae "tae, universa Graecia praesenti, in Olympico mercatu." Hence we may observe, that as among the Romans, so among the Greeks, matters of the greatest importance to the public were proclaimed at these markets, or fairs, as the most general assemblies—(as were in former times the Laws of every session of parliament in this country,

by

by the King's writ to the sheriff—which may be seen at the end of the Acts of 31 Edward III, and elsewhere [o]).—At this Olympic market or fair, there were also men called Hellenodicae, Ἑλληνοδίκαι [p], invested with a jurisdiction to judge of the merit and pretensions of the performers; and we may fairly conclude, that their jurisdiction extended to preserve also order and good government, and determine such disputes as arose in that numerous assembly.

FROM the fair kept at Pannonia by the Greeks, Tullius instituted such another meeting among the Romans.—Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv. sect. 25. says of the first, *ενθα στωιοντες γυναιξιν ομς και τεκνοις καλα τους αποδειχθεντας χρονους, συνεθυσον τε και συνεπανηγυριζον και αγωνιας επετελουν ιππικους και γυμνικους, &c. θεωρησαντες και πανηγυρισαντες*—And of that instituted among the Romans in Imitation of it—he says, *εν ω αι πολεις συνερχομθαι καθ' ενασον ενιαυτον ιδιας και κοινας θυσιας και πανηγυρεις αζουσιν*, *ibid.* sect. 26. And Cicero, lib. i. Epist. ad Attic. 14. mentions the Nundinarum πανηγυρεις—“*Erat in eo ipso loco, eo* “ *die nundinarum πανηγυρις.*”—And Paterculus, speaking of the Olympic games, lib. i. c. 8. joins the games and fair together—“*Ha-* “ *buit autorem Iphitum Elium, is eos ludos mercatumque instituit.*” And Cicero, in his Tuscul. Questions, lib. v. speaks of the great fair at the Olympic games, where some came to buy, and some to sell, &c.—“*Mercatum eum qui haberetur maximo ludorum appa-* “ *ratu totius Graeciae celebritate, &c. Illic alii emendi, alii ven-* “ *dendi quaestu et lucro ducerentur.*” So that we hence see, that the public games and fairs were kept together.

BUT to return to the Roman Fora, Sigonius thinks, and with reason, that the places called “ Appii Forum, Forum Flaminium, Forum Julium,” and others had their names from the Fora or fairs held

[o] Rex Vicecomiti, &c. salut. Quaedam Statuta, Ordinationes, per nos, Praelectos, Duces, Comites, Barones, et Communes regni nostri, &c.—pro communi utilitate dicti regni facta tibi mittimus—quod in comitatu tuo, et aliis locis, ubi melius expedire videris, publice proclamari facias, 31 Ed. III.

[p] Pausan. Eliac.



there ; and Festus expressly says, that they were thus distinguished by the names of those men, that first had the grant of them—" Ab eorum nominibus, quia ea fora constituenda curarunt."—And perhaps it was from *Fora*, in this sense, that the French took their *Foires*, and not from *Feriae*, the Christian Holydays, at which time these fairs were used to be kept ; as Spelman and others are inclined to think. At least it is certain, that so low as William the Conqueror, the Latin *Fora* signified fairs, as may be seen in his law abovementioned. These meetings were likewise called *Conciliabula*, as appears from Livy, lib. vii. "*Legem latam esse, ne magistratus ambiendi causa, fora et conciliabula obire liceret.*" A law was made, that no candidate for any part of magistracy, should canvass in these fairs. The last circumstance I shall mention relating to this *Jus Nundinarum*, granted on the estates of men of condition, is out of the Digest, lib. i. *De Nundinis*—" *Nundinis ab Imperatore impetratis non utendo qui meruit, decennii tempore usum amittit :*" That this privilege, if discontinued for ten years, was lost ; which, I apprehend, is the same case with us ; for if a fair is discontinued for some time, and gone into desuetude, it cannot be revived upon the prior grant, without a fresh concurrence of the Lord of the fee.

Thus much for the *Nundinae* and *Fora* among the Romans.—We proceed next to see these customs carried by them with their conquests into Germany, and those northern nations, afterwards called Gothic ; among whom we find many instances of this privilege granted by the sovereign to the tenant in capite, to hold on his fee ; from hence are derived all the noted fairs in Germany, at Francfort, Strasburg, Leipzig, Nuremberg, and others, the privileges and jurisdiction of which may be seen in the *Diplomata* and *Documents* of Fred. III, annexed to his life by Aeneas Sylvius, published by Boecler.

CALVIN. *Lex Juridic. voc. VALVASORES*, says, they were such, "*qui summae coercionis, non nundinarum et mercatus jus habent.*"

“ bent.”—Who had, in their feignories, all coercive powers, but not the privilege of *markets and fairs*—From whence we may observe, this last was well known, and esteemed as a high regality in their country:—From Germany these grants of fairs and correspondent jurisdiction came into France, especially into Normandy—as appears by the grand Customier, or code of Norman law; and, if I mistake not, we no where meet with so circumstantial an account of the extent of the jurisdiction exercised in those fairs, and of the cases which were cognizable in those courts, as in these Customs of Normandy.

CHAP. des Jurisdicions. First, it is said, “ Les bas Justiciers  
“ qui ont droit de foires et marches peuvent prendre cognoissance  
“ des mesures de boire, et de bled; s’ils les trouvent fausses, en leur  
“ Fief, avant le justice royale y mette la main.

“ ONT aussi la cognoissance du bruit de marché, c’est à scavoir si  
“ intervenient quelque bruit au dict marché, le senescal on peut cog-  
“ noistre pourveu quil ny ait sang et play, et en lever l’amende,  
“ pareillement cognoissent de parc brize, et des exces faicts à leur  
“ prevot en faisant les exploits.

“ ONT pouvoir aussi de mettre prix aux vins et autres boissons,  
“ et d’avoir les amendes de ceux, qui y contreviennent.

“ PEUVENT aussi tenir pleds, et gage plege, et ont la cognoi-  
“ sance des rentes cogneuës entre leur hommes—et de blasmes d’  
“ adveux.” That is—The inferior judges, that preside over  
markets and fairs, can take cognizance of measures both of drinking  
and of corn, if they are found false in their fee, before the King.

THEY have likewise the cognisance in cases of riot and quarrels  
in the market, provided there be no bloodshed or wound—and to fine  
the parties offending. They have also right to enquire of shop-  
lifting, pound-breach and violence offered to the Prevot in execution  
of his office.

THEY have power likewise to put the price on wines and other  
liquors, and to receive the fines of those who offend.

THEY



THEY can likewise hold pleas, and pleas of pledge, and have con-  
nizance in the case of the rent of homagers, and in default of mak-  
ing their returns.

THERE is likewise a clause in a charter of liberties granted by Philip  
to the Normans, by which the jurisdiction of these fairs and markets  
was confined to things done at the time of the fair, agreeable to the  
provision in the act of our parliament—"Item (says the charter)  
"quod in ullo casu, in mercatu burfæ querelatus, nisi mercatum  
"possideat, nullatenus respondere teneatur, etiam si nos mercatum bur-  
"fæ retrahere niteremur"—That is, as I understand it, no man shall  
be amenable to the fair courts, unless for what happened in that  
fair [*q*]; not even if the King by resumption of the grant should preside  
there himself. Agreeable to this is the common law of England, by  
which the King cannot resume the grant of any franchises appen-  
dant to a manor, such as market, fair, leet, park, warren, &c. so that  
the jurisdiction of the market, or fair, once granted, is good against  
the King—See Coke's Reports, Case of the Abbot of Strata Mar-  
cella, lib. ix. —From hence it appears there were such courts among  
the Normans, which is all at present is contended for in order to  
shew that these courts were thence derived with the Norman Con-  
quests into England, unless it may be supposed, that they obtained  
here, as a feudal tenure, in the Saxon times, which seems to be the  
opinion of the author of Doctor and Student, where he says of the  
courts of Piepowders, chap. 7, that, "though in some statutes there  
"is mention of them, yet, of the first institution of the said courts,  
"there is no statute or law in England"—He therefore grounds the  
practice of them on the custom of the realm, which custom, arising  
from feudal tenures, must be derived from the Saxon times [*r*].

[*q*] See the law in Demosthen. c. Mid.—For hearing all cases relating to the  
festival of Bacchus, at the time, and at the spot, Demosth. c. Mid.

[*r*] See the law of William the Conqueror, above.

HOWEVER

HOWEVER we find a grant of Henry I, in lib. Ramesiae, to that monastery, for a fair; “Concessit Rex Henricus Deo et Sancto Benedicto, et Sancto Ivoni Archipraefuli, unoquoque anno, ferias octo dierum cum Tol, et Theam, &c. et omnibus consuetudinibus quae optimae habentur in aliquibus nundinis per totam Angliam,” &c. — Now among these “optimae consuetudines nundinarum,” undoubtedly, that of jurisdiction is to be reckoned, which we have seen, in the 17th Edward IV, *to be of right pertaining to fairs*; this appears likewise from the enumeration of the other regalities, “cum faca et foca, tol, et theam, et cum infra capto fure”—It does not say, as other charters of privileges and regalities, “et cum extra capto fure,” but only “infra capto fure;” and the reason for this difference was, that the jurisdiction of fairs extended only to things done within the fair—And therefore “infra capto fure,” is here only mentioned as a theft cognizable by that court, because he was “infra captus”—The fact and the caption were within the fair. Accordingly a Writ of Error lies against a judgment given in Pypowder, in matters not done within the fair or market—In the case of Hall v. Jones, Mich. 42, 43. Eliz. a Writ of Error was brought by Hall against a judgment of the Pypowder in favour of Jones, for slanderous words spoke by Hall—which judgment was reversed, for this among other errors, that these words concerned no matter relative to the market, and the court had no jurisdiction in that case. Coke, Rep. 10. Case del Marshallshea. We see from hence, and Doctor and Student, c. 7. Coke 4th Institute, and the statute abovementioned, confirmed by the 1st Richard III, as having been allowed by prescription by the justices of eyre, and therefore of great antiquity, that these fairs, with courts appertaining to them, were very antient; they were probably brought into England by the Germans or Normans, who received them from the Romans, among whom they were first instituted, for the reasons abovementioned.

WHATEVER.



WHATEVER the jurisdiction attending them among the Romans might be, to what it was extended, or to what confined, we have no certain grounds to determine.

BUT in the Gothic constitution derived in great measure from the Romans, we find it extended no further than to judge of controversies arising at the fair, and to such other things as related to the preservation of good order and government, among those rustics, that for the most part composed the assembly, on account of buying and selling their commodities. Bracton, lib. v. tract. i. cap. 6. No. 6. says, “*Nam propter personas, quae debent habere celerem justitiam, sicut mercatores quibus exhibetur justitia Pepoudrous*”—And hence Selden was led into the mistake, that the nature of the law of the staple, 27 Edward III, cap. 2, stat. 2, was a kind of “*pee poudrous*,” as he writes the words, *Notis in Fortescue*, cap. 32. 20. for which he quotes Bartol, in *π. Tit. Mandati vel contra*, lib. 29. § *quaedam*. “*Nota quod in curia mercatorum debet judicari de bono et aequo, omittis juris solemnitatibus . . . i. e. Non inspectis apicibus juris qui veritatem juris non tangunt.*” He thought after Bracton, that “*pee poudrous*” related to the summary way of proceeding in that court, “*quia litem citius in ea transigi quam pulvis a pedibus excutitur* ;” says Spelman, led into the same error, I suppose by the same authority, and the words “*celerem justitiam*”—But “*pie poudrous*” signifies quite another thing; it implies a court of rustics, which Cicero calls “*Nundinae Rusticorum*,” *c. Rullum*, *orat. 2.* and has no relation to the “*celerem justitiam*,” which Bracton, and the other lawyers from him, seemed to lay down as the reason for that name. This leads us to the reason why these courts were called of Piepowders; and on this point various have been the opinions of lawyers and antiquaries—Spelman, and others from him, suppose they had that name given to them, “*quia litem citius in ea transigi, quam pulvis a pedibus excutitur*,” because the suit was sooner determined at those courts, than you could shake off the dust from your feet, Spelman *Gloss.*

VOC. FERIAE. This opinion of Spelman seems to be grounded on the foregoing passage in Bracton—of “celerem justitiam” granted to merchants, “quibus exhibetur justitia pepoudrous”—as if “justitia “pepoudrous” signified “celer justitia—Justice with dispatch, or in a summary way. We see likewise in Reg. Cancellariae, fol 10. that “in brevi de recto, secundum consuetudinem manerii”—the King commands justice to be done “cum omni celeritate.”

MANLEY's edition of Cowel says, that these courts were most usual in summer, and the suitors commonly country people with dusty feet—or from the expedition intended, according to Spelman. And hence it was that Cic. in Rull. Orat. 2, calls “Capua nundinas rusticorum,” as though Fairs were properly relative to countrymen or rustics.—Jacob, in his Law Dictionary, copies both these opinions; and Skene, De verb. significat. says, “pede pulverosus” signified a vagabond or pedlar.—But among the variety of opinions the truth seems to be this—These courts after the Norman Conquest were called *Pypowdre*, because the disputes and controversies of the country people, that composed fairs, were determined there. These country people were called by the name of *Piez Poudreux*, from their dirty and dusty shoes, occasioned by their rural employments: The manner of considering countrymen under this idea of dusty feet, was not peculiar to the French nation; they copied it, or rather received it as a natural appellation, in use among the antient Greeks and Romans.—In the Greek questions of Plūtarch, the first begins thus, *τινες εν Επιδαυρω κονιποδες και αριυνοι*; Who are those called by the Epidaurians *κονιποδες* and *αριυνοι*? The answer is, the *αριυνοι* were the Senators, and the common people were called *κονιποδες*, because, for the most part living in the country, when they came into the city, they were known by their dusty feet [s]. Here we have the rustics among the Greeks, called by the name of Dusty Feet, κο-

[s] *Τινες εν Επιδαυρω κονιποδες και αριυνοι*; . . . . . *τις δε δημας το πλειστον εν αγρω διεσκειν, εκαλευτο δε κονιποδες απο των ποδων γνωριζομενοι κεκοιμενων οποτε καλεσθαιεν εις την πολιν* Problemata Graeca Plutarchi ad init.



*υποδες*, which exactly corresponds with the idea of “*pie poudreux*” among the Normans; and it is to be observed that M. Amyot, the French translator of Plutarch, renders *υποπιδες* in this passage, by the very words “*pieds poudreux*.”—But this seems to be best explained from the Scotch Burrough laws published by Skene, with the Regiam Majestat. c. 120. “*Gif. Burgeffes, Merchands and Dustefutes (Cremars) when they pass forth of the four parts of their Burghs, in exercising and using their merchandize, does commit any wrong without the said ports, or within any baronie, they shall undertie the law of merchants, without any conditions.*”——And again c. 134. “*Gif any stranger marchand, travalland throw the realm, havand no land, nor residence, nor dwelling within the sherrifdome, but vagand from ane place to ane other qwha therefore is called pied-poudreux, or dustifute.*” Again, c. 140. is intituled, “*Anent ane fairandman or Dustifute.*” From all which it appears, that these dustifutes were pedlars or stallangers that kept stalls in fairs, and were called dustifutes, because they having no land or residence were vagand from one place to ane other, and thence called *pie poudreux* or *dustifutes*—or *fairandmen*, i. e. pedlars attending fairs.

THESE ideas of countrymen, and dusty feet, were connected by the Romans also—Cicero de Inventione, lib. i. speaking of arguments drawn from probability, says, “*Si multus erat in calceis pulvis, ex itinere eum venire oportebat.*”—If we see a man with much dust on his shoes, it is probable he came off a journey.—

HERE we see the ideas of dust on the feet, and the country, so connected, that one leads to the probability of the other; the dust on the shoes was a presumption, that the man came from a journey in the country. — Hence it was a custom among the Romans to mark the feet of those slaves that were exposed to sale.—Hence Juvenal, Sat. i.

“ ————Nec sacro cedit honori  
“ Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis.”

THE

THE design of distinguishing them thus, was in compliance with a law, which required, that the country of each slave should be declared at the sale of him.—“ Mancipiorum venditores, nationem cujusque in venditione pronunciare debuissent”—Ulpian.—But why should this circumstance of chalky feet denote their being foreigners?—I can conceive no other reason for it, but that the whited feet were to signify the dusty feet of such slaves, as an indication they were foreigners, and had travelled from far countries.—Tibullus and Ovid called them “ gypfati pedes.”

UPON the whole, we see with what propriety rustics are called “ pie poudreux” in our laws, since that idea was appropriated to them both by the Greeks and Romans—especially the former, who called them expressly *κοινοποδες*, dusty feet, or “ pied poudreux.” This leads us to the true meaning of what the statute, above recited, means by a court of pypowders—which is no more than a court of rustics, “ curia rusticorum,” called “ pie poudreux,” or dusty feet, in the language that our laws were written in after the Conquest—granted by the sovereign to his tenant, to hold in his fee, for the determination of all commercial and other disputes, and controversies arising in fairs, within the same fee.



XLI. *An ancient Indenture relating to a Burgefs in Parliament. Communicated by Brown Willis, from the Original, to Dr. Ducarel, and by him to the Society of Antiquaries, June 12, 1755.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 12, 1755.

**T**H Y S bill indentyd mead the viii day of Aprille in the thridde yer of Kyng Edward the fowrte betwyn Thomas Peers and John Scheelyng Balyffs of Donewych and John Strawnge of Brampton Esquyer, Wetneffyth that the fayd John Strawnge grauntyth be thefe presents to been oon of the Burgeys for Done- wych at the P'lement to been holdyn at Westm<sup>t</sup> the xxix day of the fayd Monyth of Aprille ffor the qwhych qwehdyr it holde longe tyme or fchortt or gwhedye it fortune to been P'rogott the fayd John Strawnge grauntyth no more to takyn for hys wagys then a Cade of full Heryng tho' to been dyliu'd be Xitenmasse next comyng In Wetnyffe heroff eythyr partt to others Indentur inter Chawnxubilly her fetys han sett day and yer above fayd.

XLII. *Philo-*

XLII. *Philological Letters from the celebrated Critic  
William Baxter to the late Dr. Geeky, when first  
entered at Cambridge: Communicated by Dr. Sharpe.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 2, 1768.

I.

W. B. W. G. Salutem.

GRATULATOR tibi ex animo, Willielme dilectissime, tibi omnia procedere rectè, atque ex voto; praecipuè vero Almam Matrem Academiam tuo merito concessisse, quod rarentè tironibus contingit, et σχολαστικὸν et χαριστικὸν de suâ munificentia. Praeclara sanè et egregia de tuâ indole atque ingenio mecum sperant omnes tui: tu etiam ipse, modò fueris ausus, profectus dabis quos non expectas. In isto certò lumine omnia clariùs videbis, quàm in nostro angulo. Confido tamen neque te olim nostrae amicitiae et puerilis institutionis poenitutum. Subit mihi, ex occasione hâc, communicare tecum quod nuperrimè legenti occurrit de voce βροτὸς, atque etiam βρότῳ, quae posterior vox *emortuum sanguinem*, sive *tabum*, significat. Satis scio tibi nondum excidisse, quod saepiùs à me audieras; linguam scilicet Romanorum constare ferè ex obsoletis Graecis vocabulis. Quod igitur postero tempore communi Graecorum dialecto βροτὸς efferebatur, illud olim μορτὸς fuerat, unde et Latinis, sive adjectivum, sive malis participium, *mortuus*. Si unde illud nôrim quaeras, praestò est Alexandrinus Ammonius, qui eruditissimè in Aristotelis logicam commentatus est. In libellum περὶ ἐρμηνείας haec habet: Βροτὸς ἢ ὡς μορτὸς, ἢ μοιρητὸς. Διὸ καὶ τὸ Ἐδείμαρδον ἄσσα μορτοί, φησὶν ὁ Κυρηναῖος: quod est, *condidimus urbes nos mortales*. Graecis autem scriptoribus Graecus poëta Callimachus, cujus Hymni in deos adhuc exstant, ὁ Κυρηναῖος—à patriâ Cyrene dicitur. Conveniunt igitur et βρότῳ, *tabum*, et βροτὸς, *mortalis*, et Callimachi  
μορτὸς



μωρτὸς cum Latino *mortuus*, imò etiam fortasse Latina vox *brutus*; certè Italis vel hodie *brutto*, pro *contaminato* et *foedo* est. Quid quod vel *mors* ipsa de Graeco μόρϑ, *fatum* fit, de pr. medio μέμορα, de μείρω, *divido*; quod hoc ex forte fati cuique contingat. Nostri omnes rectissimè valent, omniàque tibi precantur, et vovent, quae ipse cupis. Da operam, dulcissime Willielme, ut perpetuò valeas et animo et corpore.

Celsis Compitis, iv° Iduum Nov.

Anno à nato Domino MDCCVI.

Vale.

## II.

W. BAXTER GYGEO suo S.

FUERE literulae tuae, Willielme Gygee, adolescentum optimae, acceptissimae nobis, et perjucundae; et tu quidem peramicè fecisti, quòd contubernii nostri atque amicitiae memor fueris. Facis tu quidem, quod perpauci alii, ut ingenuè agnoscas quantulumcunque id sit, quod opellae nostrae debeas. Res est plena pudoris haec, neque saeculi nostri. Nequeo mihi temperare, quin te certum faciam me ineunte mense isto fuisse visu territum nocturno; siquidem tu visus es mihi per quietem in extremis agens, et quasi jam planè efflaturus animam: derepentè tamen revixisse videbaris. Gratulor sanè laetum fuisse nostrum augurium: in posterum fatis scio diligentior eris tui. Νοήματα versiculorum tuorum admodum nobis placuere; nam fuere et gravia et fatis scita, et verba ipsa benè Latina, erratula adolescentiae videbantur condonanda: Nôsti, puto, illud, "Ubi plura nitent," &c. Forfan tu ad Poëtica minùs appellis animum, aliis rebus attentior; in hâc tamen futurus egregius, modo collubuerit. Περὶ τῆς γιγαντολογίας vetustissima increbuit persuasio tam in Oriente, quàm in ipsâ Graeciâ, Gigantes humanâ fuisse origine et divinâ. Nam vel ipse Achilles dicitur Ἐννεάπυχος, sive *novemcubitalis* [t] staturae fuisse, quem nôsti *Peleo*

[t] Veteribus enim quivis ἀθάνατος pro Deo erat.

et *Thetide* natum : Certe Poëta Lycophron hunc Πελασγικὸν appellat Τυφῶνα. Hebraicâ loquendi consuetudine *filii Deorum* dicuntur ipsi Dii, sive Ἀγγελοι[u], uti ad initium Jobi cernere est, et in vaticinio Danielis, quomodo et Herodoto Iōnes plus semel appellatos legimus παῖδας των Ἰώνων. De mediâ philosophiâ figurari constat alterum nominis usum ; siquidem, Ἐνάρετοι ἄνθρωποι ὑοὶ εἰσι τῷ θεῷ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Πλάτωνι. Verùm ne aqua tibi diutiùs haereat, adeundus erit Apostolus Judas, qui Enochi vaticinium laudat Περὶ λειπολαλῶντων ἀγγέλων, cujus satis luculentum fragmentum à Scaligero [x] editum est. Periochâ sextâ epistolae Judae habentur ista : Ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἀρχὰς, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντες τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον, &c. Quin et in sequenti clausulâ tradit *Sodomeos*, atque *Gomorrhæos*— Τὸν ὅμοιον τούτοις τρόπον ἐκπερνέουσα, in diversum scilicet genus. Atque haec, puto, omnia, autoritare ductus Enochici libelli, cujus modò memini, qui haec ipsa prodit. Imò et magicas artes et reliquas corruptelas ab his fuisse mulieribus contraditas. Neque est quod te terreat Antediluvianus Liber, cum et in nostro Pentateucho occurrat *Lamechi* Cantilena, quae vel Mosaico saeculo patrum haerebat memoriâ. Possit igitur et Enochi vaticinium initio poëmatis formâ fuisse et memoriae mandatum primorum patrum. Quis nescit Enochum Hebraeis dici *Chanoch* ? Hujus etiam memoriâ durâsse videtur et apud antiquos Phrygas ; sicuti et in Graeco proverbio, Τὰ Καννάκx, de omnium vetustissimis. De *Cannacâ* autem ita Zenobius in Epitome Proverbiorum, Ἐπὶ Ταρραεὶ καὶ Διδυμῷ vetustorum grammaticorum. Καννάκης γὰρ ἐγένετο Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς, ὡς φησὶν Ἑρμολύχης ἐν τοῖς Φρυγίοις, πρὸ τῶν Δευκαλίωνων χρόνων, ὃς προειδὼς τὸν μέλλοντα κατακλυσμὸν συναγαγὼν πάντας εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ μετὰ δακρύων ἰκέτευεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ ὁ Ἰαμβοποιὸς φησὶν, ἵνα τὰ Καννάκx κλαύσω.

CREDIBILE est igitur, et in ore Phrygum fuisse Enochi *Nae-nias*, cùm gens sit ista omnium vetustissima. Certè Tertullianus [y]

[u] Sicuti et Γῶγ sive Γύγης apud Mosē.

[x] De Emendat. Temp.

[y] Libro De velandis Virginibus.



noster nollet repudiari Enochii librum. Nescio quid Edvardus vester opponet Judae Apostolo, qui disertis verbis Enochum laudat, et scortatos fuisse Angelos affirmat. Nos omnes cum nostris rectâ utimur valetudine, quam tibi precamur perpetuam, caeteraque ex voto omnia.

Dabam Celsis Compitis, xiii<sup>o</sup> Kal. Jun.

Vale.

Quid quod vel ipse Paulus epistolâ ad Corinthios primâ, cap. xi. scribat oportere mulierem ἐξουσίαν (Irenaeo κάλυμμα, sive περιβόλαιον appellatam) ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἔχειν, διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Vide sis ad eum locum Hammondii paraphrasin. De Lightfooto piget dicere, nam somnia narrat Hebraica.

### III.

W. B. W. G. Salutem.

**T**U quidem peramantè fecisti, adolescentium optime, Willielme Gygee, quòd ostendere volueris nondum tibi intercidisse nostri memoriam. Fuere sanè literulae tuae nobis acceptissimae; atque eo quidem acceptiores, quòd ex his intellexerim incrementa tuae virtutis, atque φιλομαθείας, et mores etiam candidissimos, qui (nisi vana auguror) luculentiora daturi sunt propediem sui documenta. Aveo tamen scire et rationem tuorum studiorum, et profectus: pergratum igitur feceris, si per sequentes tuas literas certior fiam, quibus potissimùm rebus animum tuum appellas. Scito autem et veterum linguarum cognitionem, et universam φιλολογίαν, non minori fore tibi oblectamento, quàm utilitati. Una enim grammatica (quod ait Quintilianus) plus habet in recessu, quàm in fronte proficitur, clavis haec et fax rerum, tam veterum, quàm novarum: absque hac foret, vel theologia, et philosophia planè caecutirent. Nôstin' quid erat, quòd veteres Graeci se hosti dedentes terram et aquam porrigerent? Equidem existimaverim jurandi factum fecisse causâ. Siquidem duobus istis elementis mortalitas nostra constat. Unde et Dii immortales, atque ipse Deum pater,

Jupiter,



Jupiter, Styga juravit. Certè Iliade Ε. Ὑπὺ Deus Junonem  
hisce verbis jurijurando adigit :

Ἄγρει νύν μοι ὅμοσον αἰάalon Στυγὸς ὕδωρ,  
Χεῖρὶ ᾗ τῇ ἐτέρῃ μὲν ἔλε χθόνα πελυξόταραν,  
Τῇ δ' ἐτέρῃ ἄλλα μαρμαρέην. —————

Ad quae verba fatis scitè antiquus Interpres τὰ βαρύτατα τῶν σοιχείων ἔμνυσι, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ σωηθείᾳ λέγομεν Ξηρὸν καὶ Ὑγρὸν. Atque haec quidem puto Hebraeis dici לִינֶשׁ *saul* et מוֹת *moth*, et Apocalypseōn libello Ἄδων καὶ Θάνατον. Cum autem veteri Graeciae μαῖα sit *mater*, prodente Eustathio in Iliada A. cūmque apud Proclum (in Platonis Timaeum) ipsa *Nox* dicatur Μαῖα θεῶν ὑπάτη, quod est *suprema deorum genetrix*, quis ambigat quin et Syris et Affyriis *aqua* ideò dicatur מַיָּה, *maya*, ut et Aegyptiis μῶ, quòd sit γεννήσεως μήτηρ. Certè Plutarchus in libello, quem de Diis Aegyptiorum, Iside scilicet atque Ofiride, conscripserat ; *Lunam* dicit Aegyptiis dici Μᾶθ, quòd pro *Terrae matre* haberetur. Jamblico etiam in libello de Mysteriis Aegyptiorum, μᾶθ dicitur ἰλὺν, five *coenum*, esse Phoenicibus ; quòd cum Graecorum *Chao* convenit. Verum et Phoenicibus, et Hebraeis מוֹת *moth* videbatur etiam masculino dici genere, ac si planè Ἀρσηνοθήλως esset. Ita enim Porphyrius in libro Περὶ Ἀποχῆς : Ἐτερον αὐτοῦ παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μοῦθ ἀφιεροῖ, Θάνατον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Πλάτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσι. Hebraeis etiam horum vicinis מוֹת *moth* masculinis verbis adjicitur : puto quòd Graecis Θάνατος fit masculinum. Notissimum est illud Heracliti Ephesii dictum, ὕδωρ τῇσι ψυχῇσι θάνατος. Beatissimus etiam martyr Ignatius in quâdam epistolâ se vitae pertaesum hisce verbis testatur, τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ οὐ πίνει ὕδωρ. Atque haec quidem de Μοῦθ : contrà Ἀΐδης, *Dis pater* Latinis dicitur, Hebraeis לִינֶשׁ *saul*, quod quidem forsan est à prae-positivo שׁ *sin*, vel ה, et לִינֶשׁ, ἄφρων, ἄβελος, et Latinis *fatuellus*. Quid autem Graecorum αἰς et αἰδης, nisi *inscius* et *stolidus* ? Atque hic nobis videtur dici ἀναίοδητον σοιχείων, *terram*, quod sit ex se planè



emortuum et insensibile. Ut sint מוֹת *moth* et שׂוּל *faul*, sive θάνατος et ἄδης, τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν, maximum veterum juramentum, de quibus non tantum Graeci veteres, verum etiam Hebraei, de more antiquo, personas effinxere corporales. Veluti Psal. xlix. 15. כְּצֵלְאֵי שָׂוֹל יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, h. e. *tanquam oves orco positi sunt, mors vescetur iis.* Videtur etiam proprium quoddam Orci nomen fuisse בְּלִיעַל — Βελιάλ, quasi *deglutiens deus*; בְּלִיעַל: Prov. I. 12. וְנִבְלַעְמוּ כְּשִׂיחִים, h. e. *deglutiamus eos, ut Orcus.* Divus etiam Johannes Apocalypf. xx. 14. de *Morte et Orco* loquitur tanquam de personis. καὶ ὁ Θάνατος καὶ ὁ Ἄδης ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὸ λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Θάνατος δούτερος. Porrigebant igitur Graecorum deditii γλῶ καὶ ὕδωρ, quo maximum jurarent hostibus juramentum, se in posterum futuros in eorum fide. Ista enim sive dii, sive elementa, mortalitatis notissima symbola, atque etiam causae. Unde constare puto quid erat et deos jurare Στύγα, quo morti se subiciebant; neque amplius ambrosiâ et nectare, immortalis scilicet pabulo, uterentur. Si haec tibi arridere intellexero, forsan etiam hujus farinae alia tibi imperiam. Interim fac ut valeas, et ut audeas, et speres ingentia.

Celsis Compitis, vii<sup>o</sup> Id. Febr.

Vale.

#### IV.

**A**CCEPI literas tuas peramantes, dilectissime Giggae, per tabellarium proximum, ex quibus intellexi quanti me feceris. Gratulor sanè Needhamo tuo, et institutum laudo. Haud dubito quin operae futurum sit novam Rei rusticae scriptorum editionem moliri: verum heu! eâ modò aetate sum, ut nihil, vel parum admodum valeat nostra imbecillitas efficere. Columella in illo genere praecipuus est, maximèque utilis; caeteri duriores videntur, et

et minus amoeni. Bentleius vester per multos retrò annos fuit orbi literario expectatissimus: verum cum opus aggressus fuerit plenum aleae periculossimae, ut sapientem decuit, noluit editionem praecipitare. Satis ego scio, neque doctrinam, neque diligentiam huic viro defuturam, tantum faveat illi Minerva, quā invitā nihil recte processurum scio: Horatius meus exemplo est. Egomet pro compertissimo habeo Apostolorum rudiuscula scripta fuisse primis nostrae Religionis saeculis, saepiùs recusa, atque ex arbitrio exscribentium reformata, quo legentibus aliquanto fierent gratiora et commendatiora. Neque enim haerebant olim in literis et apicibus, ut hodie moris est. Scimus etiam alias libros vulgari stylo scriptos, nullā penè curā fuisse exscriptos. Exemplo sunt diversa Theodori Prisciani, sive Octavii Horatiani Medici Methodici exemplaria; atque etiam Apicii De re culinaria. Verum, deficiente jam chartulā, properandum censeo ad veterem subscriptionem;

Rectè vale.

IV

CCCEPI litteras tuas perstantes, dilectissime, et  
 abbellarum proximum, ex quibus intus et quibus intus  
 Oculorū tūe Needham meo, et intus meo. Illud dubio  
 per opus futurum sit non in Re. Illud dubio  
 moliri: verum bene! ea modo acere intus, in illis, vel parum  
 admodum valeat nostra imbecillitas. Columella in illo  
 bene persequitur: est enim quidam, qui cum intus videretur

E e 2

XLIII. Ex



XLIII. *Ex Registro* Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. *Episcopi*  
*Fol. 113. Communicated by Dr. Lyttelton, Dean of*  
*Exeter.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, January 24, 1754.

L'ra D'ni Principis Wall' de Capcione R. Franciae par Le  
Prince de Gales.

**R**EVE'NT piere en Dieu, et tresch' ami — Nous vous  
mercions entierement de ce que nous avons entendu, q' vous  
vous estes si bien et si naturellement porte dev's nous, en p'ant Dieux  
p'r nous et p'r n're exploit; et fumes tout certiens q' p'r cause de  
vos devoutes p'eres et dautres, Dieu nous a en toutes nos befoignes  
be' vueliz aide; de quoi nous fumes a touz jo's tenuz de lui grazier,  
en p'ant que v're part ancy vieullietz faire en continuant dev's  
nous come devant ces heures avetz fait, de quoi nous nous tenons  
g'n'ment tenuz a vous. Et, rev'ent piere, endroit de n're estat, dont  
nous penceons bien q' vous desirez la v're merci doier bones nou-  
velles, vueilietz entendre q' a la faifance de cestef estions fainset heures  
et tout en bon point, loiez en soit Deiaux q' nous donit y ce mesmes  
de vous toutes foitz oir et savor, et de ce nous vueilietz certifier  
p'r vos l'rés et p' les entrevenantz a plus souvent q' vous pres  
bonement en droit de nouvelles ceandroitz. Vueilietz savoir q' la  
veille de la translation Saint Thomas de Cantirbire, nous com-  
menceafmes a chivauch' ove n're povar v's les parties de France et  
souvrainement p' cause q' nous entendifmes la venue de n're  
treshonn'e feign'r et piere le Roy la endroitz, et si neifmes dev's les  
parties de Burges en Berye, Orlions et Tours, et avions nouvelles q' le



le Roy de France ove g'nt povar bien pres de celles marches venoit p' combattre ove no's, et approcheafmes tant q' la bataille se prist entre nous en tiele maniere q' les ennemis estoient disconfitez, grace en soit Dieux, et le dit Roi et son fils et plusieurs autres g'ntz pris et mortz, les noms de queauz nous vous envoions p' n're tresch' bachiler Monf' Roger de Cottesford portoir de cestes. Rev'ent piere en Dieux, et n're tresch' ami, le Saint Esprit vous ait toute jours en sa garde. Donnè souz n're seal a Birdeaux, le xx<sup>e</sup> jour d' Octob'r.

[Tradita fuit ista l'ra Domino Reginaldo de Briene, Ep'o Wygorn, apud Alvech', pr'mo die Decemb', an' Dom' m°.ccc quinquagesimo sexto, cum cedula nomina continente capt' et mortuorum in bello praedicto, cujus cedulae tenor insequitur p' o'ia parte folii istius superscriptus.]

A REV'ENT Piere en Dieux Evesqe de Worcester, ces sont les noms de ceaux q' estoient pris a la bataille de Poyters p' le Prince de Gales fitz a noble Roi de Engleterre Edward Tiertz :

John de Valoys, Roy de France.

Monf. Philip son filz.

Arcevesque de Leyns.

|         |   |           |                             |
|---------|---|-----------|-----------------------------|
| Countes | Monf. Jakes de Bourbonn,                      | Viscontes | Le Chatelain de Compost.    |
|         | Counte de Pountois.                           |           | Le Visconte de Narbone.     |
|         | Monf. John d'Artoys, Counte d' Eu.            |           | Le Visconte de Vychichoard. |
|         | Monf. Charles de Artoys, Counte de Souggevil. |           | Le Visconte de Walemont.    |
|         | Le Counte de Tankervill.                      |           | Le Visconte de Beaumont.    |
|         | Le Counte de Ventadour.                       | Bannerets | Le S. de Sully.             |
|         | Le Counte de Sauffier.                        |           | Mess. Arnold Doudinham.     |
|         | Le Counte de Salesberg.                       |           | Mess. Rauf de Couffy.       |
|         | Le Counte de Vendome.                         |           | Le S. de Daubeney.          |
|         | Le Count de Wademont.                         |           | Le S. de Denyn.             |
|         | Le Count de Dammartyn.                        |           | Le S. de Saint Dyfer.       |
|         | Le Count John de Naïo.                        |           | Le S. de la Tour.           |
|         | Le Count de Salerplok.                        |           | Le S. Damboifa.             |
|         |   |           | Le S. de Derval.            |
|         |   |           | Le S. de Manhales.          |



|           |  |   |
|-----------|--|---|
| Bannerets | { Le S. de Planuche.<br>{ Le S. de Montagu.<br>{ Le S. de Beaufremont.<br>{ Le S. de Plamory.<br>{ Monf. Giscard D' Angle Sen-<br>{ néschal de Sentonge.<br>{ Monf. Moris Mauvinet Sen.<br>{ De Tours en Toreyne.<br>{ Monf. Renaud de Guilhaon<br>{ Sen. de Peyton.<br>{ Monf. Pierres de Creon.<br>{ Monf. Giscard de Arx.<br>{ Monf. Gauter de Castellion.<br>{ Monf. Giscard de Beanyon.<br>{ Le S. de Basentin. | Les noms de ceaux q' furent<br>mortz a la dite bataille sont<br>ceux.<br>{ Le Duc de Bourbon.<br>{ Le Duc Datermes.<br>{ Le Evesque de Chalons.<br>{ Monf. Rob de Duras.<br>{ Le Marischal de Clerimont.<br>{ Le Visconte de Vrons.<br>{ Monf. Geffrei de Charsey.<br>{ Monf. Renaud de Pointz.<br>{ Le S. de Landas.<br>{ Le S. de Chastel Vileyn.<br>{ Le S. de Argenton.<br>{ Le S. de Mountgay.<br>{ Le S. de Malevrer.<br>{ Monf. John de Saufar.<br>{ Monf. Lewes de Broyse.<br>{ Monf. Guilliem de Viele.<br>{ Monf. John de Jole.<br>{ Monf. Andrew de Chaveny.<br>{ Monf. Eustas de Kirpement. |
|-----------|--|---|

Ceaux furent ceaux dessoutz p's  
 devant la bataille à Remoartin.

|           |  |   |
|-----------|--|---|
| Bannerets | { Le S. de Acon.<br>{ Monf. Buignant.<br>{ Monf. Guy Turpin. | { Monf. Guillaume de Lorak.<br>{ Monf. Folles de Forfela.<br>{ Monf. Jakelyn de Ponsey. |
|-----------|--|---|

Et sont pris outre les noms dessus  
 escp'tz des gentz d' armes.

M. IX<sup>e</sup>. XXXIII. Gaudete in Do-  
 mino semper.

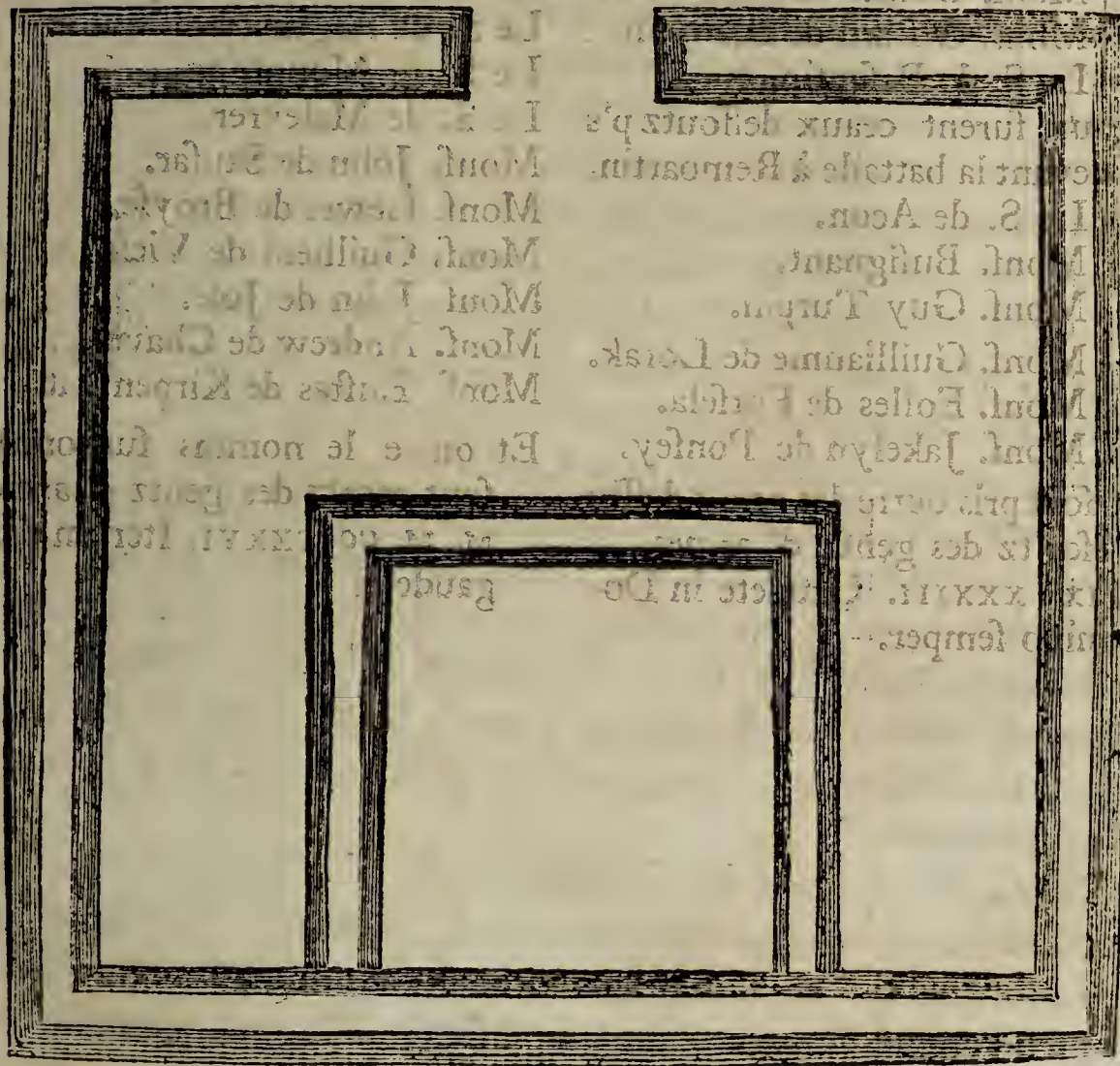
Et outre le nomms furnometz  
 sont mortz des gentz d' armes  
 M. M. ccccxxvi. Iterum dico  
 gaudete.



XLIV. *Some Account of a Roman Station lately discovered on the Borders of Yorkshire.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 20, 1766.

ON the trace of the great Roman military way from York to Manchester, in the township of Saddleworth, within the county of York, and diocese of Chester, at a place called Castle-shaw, are the remains of a double camp, or station, of a Roman form, as will appear from the following representation of it:



THE



THE ground being improved, the vestigia are but just discernible; sufficient however is left, to shew that the inner fortification was about sixty yards by fifty, and the outward one a square of more than an hundred yards on each side. It sometimes goes by the name of Husteads; but we are not from thence to conclude, that this was nothing but the site of some large house with its appurtenances; for the station of Borcovicus on the wall, is fixed at a place of the same name; besides, I was informed on the spot, that coins, beads, pieces of uncommon pots, and bricks, had some time ago been found there; as also an inscription on a stone, which, not being understood, was unfortunately broke, and used. I could meet with nothing of this sort, except a perforated bead of dark green glass, round, and ornamented, such as Pliny calls "*Druidis insigne*," which yet might belong to some inhabitant of this garrison; for, from this author, it is plain, that the Romans were superstitious enough to make use of these, by way of amulets, where he says, "*ad victorias litium, et aditus regum, Druidis insigne mire laudatur.*" He also gives an account of a Roman knight, who was put to death by Claudius, for wearing one of these in his bosom, during his attendance on a law suit.

THE places of antiquity near Castleshaw, besides the above military way, are two pieces of ground called the Burying Grounds; a place called the Lower Castle Hills; the remains of an iron forge, at the distance of a few hundred yards, by the side of the military; and lastly, something like the situation of a fort, called by the name of Dowry Castle, having a much better view of the country than Castleshaw, and, as I conjecture, built as a "*Turris exploratorius.*"

Now, as the above has so many marks of a Roman station, the question is, by what name it was called. Ptolemy, Antonine, and the Notitia, are all silent about any station in these parts; but in the anonymous Ravenna, we have Mantio, Alunna, Camuluduno,

&c.



&c. the first of which, Mr. Horsley, page 500, thinks must be designed for Manucium (Manchester), as in the Second Iter of Antonine. Alunna, he supposes, may be the same as Alone, in the tenth Iter, fixed at Whitley Castle, in the South West corner of Northumberland; and Camulodunum, he says, both here, and in Ptolemy, must be the same with Cambodunum in the second Iter above mentioned, which he has placed at Greetland in the parish of Halifax. But why must a station, within a few miles of the wall of Severus, be put between Manucium and Cambodunum, when yet the former is universally acknowledged to be Manchester in Lancashire, and the latter to be only about 18 or 20 miles from the former? Perhaps Mr. Horsley might think there was not sufficient room for a station between these two; but, if it can be shewn that the case is otherwise, there will be no occasion, I presume, to remove Alunna so far as the South West corner of Northumberland, and consequently not to suppose it the same with Alone.

THE place generally taken to be Cambodunum, is Castle-Hill near Almonbury; and though there is some reason to doubt of this, yet the distances in Antonine require that it should be somewhere in that neighbourhood; now if Cambodunum was really in these parts (as may, I think, be proved) Castleshaw is conveniently enough situated to be a middle station between it and Manchester.

FROM Calcaria (Tadcaster) to the antient Mancunium, along the present road, is about 58 English miles; but the numbers in Antonine make it only 38, which is a defect too great to be supplied, either from supposing that the Roman way ran straighter than the present one, or, from adding four miles to the account, agreeable to the Itinerary of Richard the Monk. Is there any absurdity therefore, in supposing that a station is dropt between Cambodunum and Mancunium; and that station, from the authority of Ravenna, to be Alunna? A remarkable circumstance may be produced to confirm this opinion; for the second Iter runs thus, “ Ab Eboraco Devan usque sic:



“ Calcaria mille passus 9. Camboduno 22. Mancunio 18. Finibus  
 “ Maximae et Flaviae 18. Deva 18.” Here the whole distance  
 between Mancunium and Condate is made to be 36 Italian miles, and  
 a station put between them. Condate, I think, has been proved to  
 be at Kinderton near Middlewich in Cheshire, which is nearly at an  
 equal distance from Manchester and Chester, which two towns are  
 only about 36 measured miles from each other, along the present  
 road, from which the Roman way differed in length very little.  
 There cannot therefore, as in the Monk’s Iter, be room between  
 Mancunium and Deva (or Chester) for 54 miles, divided into three  
 stations at the distance of 18 miles from each other; for two of  
 these fill it up to a sufficient degree of exactness. Now, as a  
 station is dropped on the other side of Manchester, and one put in  
 here where there is no room for it, there is all the reason in the  
 world to suppose, that a transposition has been made in the Iter,  
 and that the “ Fines inter Maximam et Flaviam” ought to be  
 inserted between Cambodunum and Mancunium.

BUT if so, we come at a great discovery relating to that division  
 which the Romans made of this island. Mr. Horsley has placed  
 that part called Maxima Caesariensis, beyond the Wall, and Flavia  
 Caesariensis in Devonshire and Cornwall; but if this be right, how  
 is it possible that a station could be upon the boundary betwixt  
 them? It is a little unfortunate that, what this Monk hath joined  
 together, Mr. Horsley (for want of seeing this useful old writer)  
 should have put so far asunder! But let us see what authority he  
 thought he had for so doing: this seems chiefly to be founded on  
 a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxviii. cap. 3. where it  
 is said, that Theodosius the Roman general “ in integrum restituit  
 “ civitates et castra multiplicibus damnis afflictæ. Instaurabat urbes  
 “ et praefidiaria castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis,  
 “ recuperatamque provinciam quæ in ditionem cesserat hostium,  
 “ ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut et rectorem legitimum haberet,  
 “ et

“et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis.” This he understood of the wall built by Severus, and the chain of forts thereon; so making these the boundary and defence of the province of Valentia, and abandoning Maxima Caesariensis (which according to this hypothesis must lie to the North of it) to the mercy of the enemy: but I do not think, that the words of Marcellinus will bear this partial construction; the expressions are general, “in integrum restituit civitates et castra—provinciam, quae in ditionem cesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut et rectorem legitimum haberet, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis.” Here we see, that a whole Province had been lost, but recovered by Theodosius, and restored to its antient state, so as to admit of a governor, and the new name of Valentia. This province also, we must conclude, was what the Romans possessed most Northwardly in Great Britain about the year 367, when Theodosius was made governor; but why should it be confined to the South of the wall? There is no reason for supposing this on account of the Notitia mentioning no stations beyond the wall; for this, it is agreed, was not wrote till very low in the empire, as Mr. Horsley himself thinks, about the year 445, which was but one year before the Romans abandoned Britain; and though Theodosius recovered part of Scotland, it might, amidst the vast struggles of the Picts and Scots, be lost again during the space of more than seventy years: the silence of history is no objection to this, for this part of Roman history in Britain is remarkably defective.

UPON the whole, I am of opinion, that Mr. Horsley’s map of the Roman division of Britain is erroneous, and that we ought rather to follow that published by Mr. Bertram of Copenhagen. According to this, the Southern part of this island, distinguished by a line drawn from the Severn to the Thames, was called Britannia Prima; the Western part, or Wales, Britannia Secunda; the rest of the kingdom, within a line drawn from the



Humber to the Ribble, Flavia Caesariensis; and all to the North of this, as far as the wall of Severus, Maxima Caesariensis; what lay beyond this wall, as far as the Estuaries of Forth and Clyde, was called Valentia, when re-conquered by Theodosius; but had been part either of Maxima Caesariensis, or Vespätiana, which last was the most Northern part of the Roman provinces in Scotland. This Vespätiana the Romans held but a short time, having no barrier to defend it; but Valentia was held longer, because secured by a wall, supposed to have been erected by Antoninus Pius; and it is this very wall which seems to be hinted at in the above quotation from Marcellinus, and not that of Severus.

THE conclusions I would draw from the above are, that the Southern boundary of Maxima Caesariensis ran along that ridge of hills which lie above Castleshaw.—That the station called in Ravenna by the Name of Alunna, is the same with the “Fines inter Maximam et Flaviam” of Richard the Monk, though, by some mistake or other, this has been placed on the wrong side of Mancunium or Manchester; and that Castleshaw is the very place which the Romans sometimes distinguished by the name of Alunna, and sometimes by that of the “Fines inter Maximam et Flaviam;” these last being in the neighbourhood of the former. And in confirmation of the above, I beg leave to observe, that the country beyond the hills above Castleshaw, is to this day called Marsden, or more properly (as in old writings) Marchden, meaning the valley adjoining to the boundary; for marches are in Junius’s Etymologicon defined to be “confinia, vel limites alicujus territorii.” Here is also a remarkable round copped hill, called March Hill, which probably did once mark out the limits between the two above mentioned provinces.

February 1, 1766,  
Ripponden.

JOHN WATSON.

XLV. A





THE above fortifications were contrived so, as to take in the whole compass of the Hill, so that the form is very irregular; it is observable, however, that the corners are rounded, though they were capable of being square, which last, I think, was almost the constant method of the Romans, when the ground would admit of it; thus in Pitiscus, at the word *Castra*, we read, “*Romani veteres quadrata tantum (castra) et quadra oblonga probaverunt: illa cum duabus, haec cum quatuor legionibus res gereretur. Neque ab hac ratione defecerunt posteriores, quamvis varium admodum acciperent numerum legionum.*” The exceptions to this are so few that they are not to be relied upon.

THE openings in their stations were four gates, which generally were placed at equal distances from the angles; the above, however, is divided into three parts, by two great ditches; one of which runs through the middle, the other near one of the ends, and both communicate with that which surrounds the whole; by which means the area at A, on the side of Almonbury, is almost as large as both the others. As the ascent to this was the easiest, it was the most open to an attack; but if the soldiers were beat from hence, there was an opening into the second division, which overlooked the first; and, being defended by a ditch of about fifteen yards, well fortified, and of a considerable depth, was consequently stronger than the other; if, however, the men were also drove from this, there was still another opening left into the last, which, though the least, was certainly by much the strongest; for besides such a ditch as the above, this commanded both the other divisions; was fixed on the steepest part of the hill; and, if one may judge from the present appearance of the ground, had the most considerable works upon it. All this seems well enough contrived, where nothing was to be consulted but defence; but must be ill-judged where a settlement was intended to continue; for the inhabitants would necessarily feel the inconvenience of having but one gate, which is all the nature of this hill would allow of.

IT

It was not common for the Romans to have their stations on so high a piece of ground as this, except in cases of danger or distress. Hyginus, in his book *de Castrametatione*, says, “Primum locum  
“habent (castra) quae ex campo in eminentiam leniter attolluntur  
“—secundum, quae in plano constituuntur; tertium, quae in  
“colle; quartum, quae in monte; quintum, quae in loco neces-  
“sario.” The reasons for all which are given us by the Annotator on this antient author; in particular, on the fourth fort (such as we are now examining) he says, “Tuta haec quidem, sed propter  
“metûs suspicionem, difficiliorem frumentationem, aquationem, et  
“pabulationem, nec non equitatûs incommoda, tam ad pugnam  
“quam victum, interdum non optima;” adding, that these were first used by Fabius, when he was labouring to restore the fallen state of Rome; but what was right on that occasion, might not be so on others; in fact, that brave, heroic people, chose rather to trust to such works as they threw up with their own hands, near ground, on which, if they thought fit, they could conveniently draw out to fight, making their camps and stations sufficiently strong to prevent a surprize, or to defend themselves in, till assistance could be had, rather than fortify such fastnesses as would shew they were afraid of the enemy.

THE same writer Hyginus says also, “Flumen sive fontem  
“habere debent in qualicunque positione;” but Castle Hill is near neither river nor brook, and, what is worse, does not afford even a single spring upon it. This indeed would tend to prove, that nobody ever remained long upon it; if the foundation of strong walls did not remain, and if there was not a tradition, that the water which supplied the garrison was brought by pipes, more than a mile, from an higher piece of ground than this, called Ludhill, which in the Anglo-Saxon Language signified the Water-hill; and having a Saxon name, is a further argument, that this was a settlement of that people. The same tradition says also, that when this  
fortess



fortress was besieged, a deserter disclosed to the enemy, in what manner the pipes were laid, who cutting the same, the garrison was soon obliged to surrender.

THESE reasons, I think, render it probable, that Castle Hill near Almonbury was not a Roman, but a Saxon fortification, and consequently not the Campodonum of Bede. It must be owned indeed, that the Saxons did frequently settle within those walls which the Romans had constructed, making such alterations as were agreeable to their own taste and skill in military affairs; but there are not sufficient data to conclude they did here. Nothing seems to prove it to have been a Roman station at all; but several arguments may be produced to shew that it was thrown up as a barrier to secure the kingdom of Northumbria from the incursions of the Mercians, and other powerful neighbours.

KING Alfred, in his translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History into the Saxon language, renders Campodonum by the word Donafelda, which Gale supposed was Tanfield near Rippon, for no other reasons, that I know of, but because there was something of a likeness between the two names, and Tanfield was not far from the River Swale, in which we had just before been told that Paulinus baptized, and who also built a church in Campodonum. But it seems not to follow from the words of Bede, that Paulinus did baptize in any river near Campodonum. They are these, "In provincia Deirorum, ubi saepius manere cum rege solebat, (Paulinus) baptizabat in fluvio Sualva, qui vicum Cataractam praeterfluit. Nondum enim oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae, poterant aedificari. Attamen in Campodono, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit Basilicam." Which I thus understand, that in the Province of Deira, Paulinus, who used frequently to reside there with the King, was obliged to baptize in the river Swale, which ran by Catarick (then probably one of the Royal Vills, or fortified stations of King Edwin), for  
as

as yet, there could not be erected oratories or baptisteries, in the infancy of the church there; but in Campodonum, which was also another Royal vill, this Paulinus built a church, in which, no doubt, the converts were baptized, and not, as before, in the running stream. This rather shews that Campodonum was at some great distance from the Swale, and in a part of the country where Christianity was better planted; and therefore Tanfield is not very likely to be the same as Donafelda.

BUT to come to the point. In the Saxon Chronicle published by Gibson, p. 29. we read, “Anno 633, Edwinus Rex fuit interfectus à Ceadwalla, et Penda in Hethfelda.” Bede also and Henry of Huntingdon assert the same. This, Hethfeld, Lambard, Gibson, and others, have fixed at Hatfield, a few miles from Doncaster; and not without reason, for this lay on the borders of the antient kingdom of Northumbria, where it is likely that Edwin, the king thereof would meet his invaders: here are also the remains of large intrenchments; and what is remarkable, some writers have called this place Hethfield, and others Hatfield; as an instance of the first, see Hearne’s last edition of Leland’s Itinerary; and of the second, Henry of Huntingdon, Fabian, &c.

THE same account likewise in Bede, which tells us that the Pagans slew Edwin, informs us, that they burnt the church which Paulinus built, together with the Royal vill where it stood. If any situation, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Hatfield, will answer to the names of Campodonum and Donafelda, it will be more reasonable to fix it there, than to look for it at any very distant place; but these names correspond in a most remarkable manner with that of Doncaster, which signifies the camp, or station on the river Don, or Dun. The Romans, who settled there, called it Danum; and, after them, the Saxons, Doncaster; well, therefore, may King Alfred be supposed to call the ground or country Donafelda, which adjoined to this river and station; for the Saxon word Feld



is in Somner's Dictionary rendered by Campus; and this, Bede, who was obliged to give it a Latin sound and termination, as he wrote in that language, has well enough expressed by Campodonum.

THE conclusions to be drawn from the above interpretation are, that the Saxons settled on the Roman station of Danum, now called Doncaster—that it was part of the barrier of the kingdom of Northumbria—that Paulinus, who was archbishop of York, built here a church, when yet he could not do the same at or near Catarick, though both seem to have been occasionally honoured with the presence of King Edwin; and that consequently Christianity was sooner, or at least more extensively, received here, than in the more Northern parts of the kingdom—that this town and church were both burned, after the battle of Hatfield, by the Britons and Mercians, in the year of Christ 633, and Christianity for some time discouraged there, till the year 655, when Penda was defeated, and slain, at Winmoor near Leedes in Yorkshire. And I will add, that possibly Castle-Hill near Almonbury was destroyed soon after the death of Edwin; for, after the account of his being killed in Hethfield, the Saxon Chronicle says, “Deinde profecti sunt Cead-  
“walla et Penda, ac devastabant totam Northymbro-  
rum terram.”

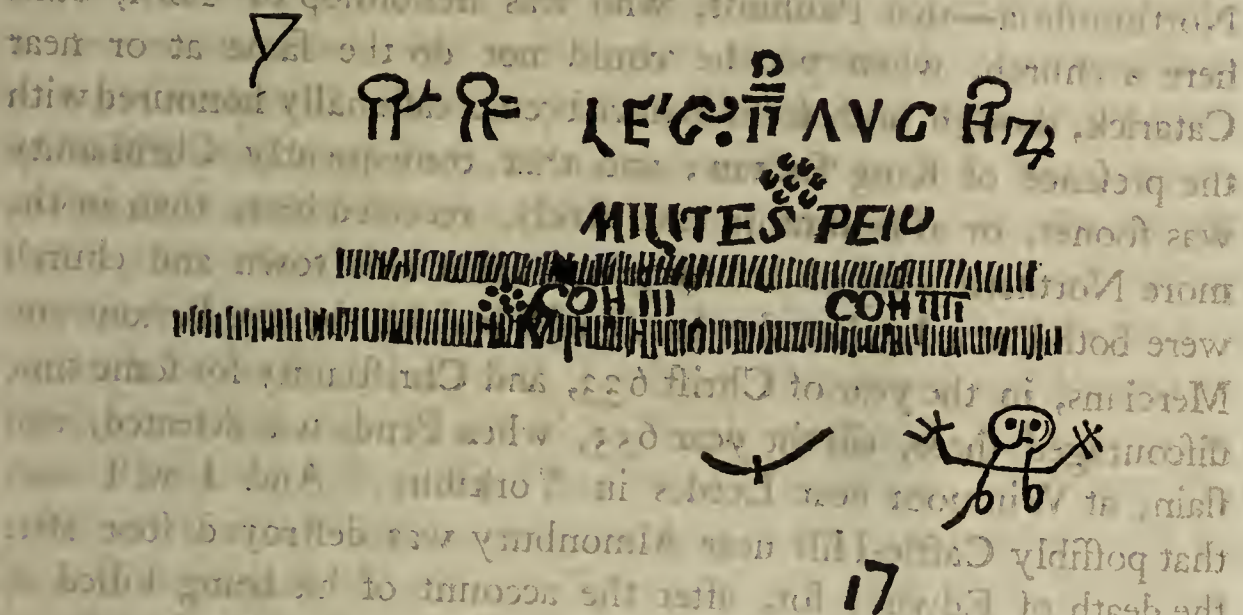
Ripponden,

February 1, 1766.

JOHN WATSON.

XLVI. *A Roman Inscription upon a Rock at Shawk Quarries, in Great Dalston, Cumberland, A. D. 1766.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 26, 1767.



GENTLEMEN,

Clifford Street, March 26, 1767.

THE drawing I now lay before you, contains a Roman inscription on a rock, situated at a place called Shawk Quarries, near Rose Castle in Cumberland, which has hitherto been overlooked by all our antiquaries, even by my famous predecessor Bishop Nicholson, though so near to his own mansion, and within his own manor of Dalston: I read it thus,

LEGIONIS SECVNDAE AVGVSTAE  
MILITES POSVERVNT.  
COHORS TERTIA — COHORS QVARTA.

WHAT to make of the strange scrawls that accompany this inscription, and of the two lines chiefly consisting of perpendicular strokes, that inclose the words; "cohors tertia, cohors quarta,"



I know not; but certainly they were the work of a later age, and probably of men who laboured at these quarries, merely for amusement; though it seems to have been rather a laborious amusement, for this part of the rock is full five yards in height, accessible only by ladders, and the stone exceeding hard, in which these marks and lines are insculpt.

ROMAN inscriptions on rocks are very rare in Britain, and indeed throughout Europe, which renders this before you more worthy consideration. I know of none that have been discovered in England, except one at "Helbecke Scar near Brampton" in this county, and three at "Crawdundale Wathe near Kirkby Phor" in Westmorland.—Another, indeed, is said, in the Additions to Camden, to have been inscribed on a rock near Naworth in Cumberland, called "Leage Crag; but Mr. Horsely tells us, upon inquiry after it, he learned that it was utterly defaced. We have all these inscriptions, except the last, faithfully described in Horsely; and the purport of of them is so very similar to this at Shawk, that it would be loss of time to mention them particularly. — Three out of the four appear to have been the work of the second Augustan legion, which, together with the twentieth legion, were employed under the Emperor Severus in building the Roman wall about the years 207 or 208, according to Mr. Horsely's conjecture.

THE author of the Additions to Camden concurs in opinion with Horsely, that the quarries at Helbeck Scar and Leage Crag afforded the Romans a supply of stones for building the famous wall; and the quarries at Crawdundale Wathe for their buildings at Kirkby Phor, where they had a very considerable station; and that, upon these occasions, they left inscriptions behind them. This conjecture is much strengthened by the strong resemblance which Horsely observed, both as to nature and colour, between the stone of Helbeck quarry and that of the Roman wall throughout great  
part.

part of Cumberland. He also adds, "that the inhabitants near the  
"place continue to call it the *Old Quarry*."

I HAVE some suspicion, that if the old stone quarries, situate in that part of Northumberland which lies contiguous to the Roman wall, were carefully examined, similar inscriptions might be discovered; for, the same motives which led the builders of the famous wall to leave their names and memorials on the Cumberland rocks and quarries, from whence the stone was procured, would induce them to do the like, near that part of the wall which lies near Northumberland, where the stones for building were also in like manner procured.

THE quarries at Shawk, where this inscription remains, are at this day the most famous in all the country, and, by the immense quantity of stones which appear to have been taken from them, must certainly have been worked for several ages. There is no doubt, therefore, but that the Romans used them; and if not for the building that part of the wall which lies towards "Burgh," or "Bulnesh;" yet for their station at "Olenacum," or Old Carlisle, near adjoining, or else for "Luguballist," or the present Carlisle.

BEFORE I conclude this letter, I must observe, that the inscription on the Helbeck Scar is placed, like this at Shawk, a considerable height above the surface of the ground on which the rock stands, and consequently difficult of access, and yet, in Mr. Camden's time, who describes it, the words "*Officium Romanorum*" were legible just on the right side of the Roman inscription, though now indeed much defaced. This, like the scrawl, &c. which accompanies the Shawk inscription, must have been the work of a later hand; and, by the form of the letter *m*, I should pronounce it of the early Norman age. A human face is insculped also just over the first word of the Roman inscription, which is represented both in Camden and Horsely far less rude than it really is; for it appears on the  
stone.



stone almost as barbarous as that which we see just below the Shawk inscription. I am, Gentlemen, with the most perfect esteem and respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

CHA. CARLISLE.

XLVII. *On the antient Camelon, and the Picts. By Mr. Walker.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 28, 1767.

To the Bishop of CARLISLE.

MY LORD,

SINCE my last, I have not had an occasion of seeing old Taylor; but he is still alive and well, and I hope soon to have an opportunity of visiting him, when I shall take care to have the fullest account of him I can possibly obtain [z].

[z] An account of this very old man was received, and read to the Society:

“John Son of Barnabas or Bernard (he calls him Barny) Taylor, by his wife Agnes Watson, was born in Garry Gill, in the parish of Aldston in Cumberland. His father was a miner, and died when John was four years old. At the age of nine years, he was set to work at dressing lead ore, which he followed two years at two pence a day. He then went below ground to assist the miners, and had been thus employed for three or four years, when the great Solar eclipse, vulgarly called the *Mirk Monday*, happened (November 29, 1652.) He, being then at the bottom of the shaft or pit, was desired by the man at the top to call those below to come

I HAVE

I HAVE written to the minister of Falkirk, in whose parish are the remains of the antient city of Camelon, to be informed concerning the Pictish inscriptions, said to be found there. If the report be true, and if they are remarkable, I propose to visit them myself, when I go to Edinburgh in May, to our General Assembly. The place is distant from Edinburgh about twenty four miles, and was originally a Roman town, being situate towards the Eastern extremity of the wall of Antoninus Pius. Upon the retreat of the Romans, it became the capital of the Pictish kingdom; but Abernethy, situate on the banks of the Tay, was their chief seat during the later times of their monarchy. Camelon is the Guidi of Bede; and the place on which it stood, about half a mile from Falkirk, has

out, because a black cloud had darkened the sun, so that the birds were falling to the earth. And this, which he always relates with the same circumstances, is the only event by which his age may be ascertained. About the age of twenty-six, he went to work at the lead mines at Blackwall in the bishoprick of Durham. He was afterwards employed as a miner or overseer in the island of Ilay, where he continued till 1730, when he went to Glasgow. From thence he came, in 1733, to Lead Hills, where he wrought constantly in the mines till 1752; and has still the Profit of a bargain (about 8 or 10*l.* per ann.) from the Scots Mine-company, which supports him comfortably.

His wife bore him nine children in Ilay; four of whom died young. His eldest daughter, born in 1710, was married; and died in 1753. Two sons and two daughters are alive in this place (Lead Hills), and are married, except the youngest son born in 1730. His wife died in 1758.

He was always a thin spare man, about five feet four inches, black-haired, ruddy-faced, and long-visaged. As miners are obliged to work at all hours, he never found any difference of times, with regard to working, sleeping, or eating. His appetite is still good; but must have a glass of spirits once or twice a day, to warm his stomach, as he expresses it. His sight and hearing are not greatly impaired. His hair not more gray than that of people generally about fifty; but his eyebrows, remarkably bushy, and his beard, are entirely white. In cold weather he lies much in bed; but in the warm months he walks about with a stick; and is very little bowed down. In October last, he walked from his own house to Lead Hills (a computed mile); and, having entertained his children and grandchildren in a public house, he returned the same day." T. M.

been



been always known by the appearance of ruins and the foundations of buildings. Buchanan relates, lib. iv. that a few years before his history was written, that is, about two hundred years ago, there were some vestiges of the streets remaining; that the walls were still visible in many places; and that, upon digging, square stones were discovered, which were used for building in the neighbourhood. But, since his time, even these ruins have been ruined; though there is still some appearance of the foundations of an antient city.

PREVIOUS to the Roman invasion, I am inclined to think, that there was no such thing as any town in this country; and that the forts and stations of the Romans, upon their retreat, gave rise to most of our present towns in the South of Scotland. And though the Britains were a people much more civilized, and were in possession of several considerable towns at Caesar's arrival, yet, if I mistake not, many of the present towns in England owe their rise, in the same manner, to Roman settlements.

I SHALL be very happy, if the inscriptions said to be dug up at Camelon should turn out to be Pictish. As I have long wished for some satisfactory light in the history of the Picts, that memorable, yet obscure; people; for never, surely, was there a European nation so lost in oblivion, or of which so few authentic traces remain, even in the country which they inhabited. In so much, that one of our best Scots antiquaries, with whom I lately conversed, Lord Auchinleck, one of the judges, was plainly of your Lordship's sentiments, in questioning if ever such people existed, I mean, distinct from the British and Caledonians.

BISHOP Stillingfleet's opinion, I must own, however, always impressed me; "that they were a Scandinavian race, originally different, though afterwards in part exterminate, and in part mixed with the British and Scots[*a*]."

[*a*] The Scythians, who migrated Westward from the Palus Maeotis, their first settlement, were, in process of time, distinguished by several names, too many

THE Bishop's antiquities I have not at hand, nor can I recollect precisely all his arguments; but, from several notes before me, some of them written long ago, I shall mention those things that have occurred to me, which make for his opinion.

I. THE Scots historians and Bede give a circumstantial account of the first settlement of the Picts, a different race from the British, in Scotland.

II. THAT Scotland, during the time of the Roman invasion, subsisted under two different monarchies, appears not only from all the Scots history we have of the times, but from Bede, from the most authentic writers for an age or two, both before and after his aera, and even from the Roman writers.

Is it not evident from Bede's authority alone, who lived while the Pictish nation still subsisted?

III. EUMENIUS in his panegyric to the Emperor Constantius, relates, that before the first arrival of Caesar in this island, the Britains had been accustomed to no other enemies but the Picts and Irish.

to be enumerated here; and, from many authorities, it appears, that it was that nation of them who were the Getae or Getes that passed very rapidly, and in very early times, into Scandinavia; and overspread Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the islands of the Baltic. Of these, a colony called the Picts, came into Britain and Ireland, and multiplied exceedingly in both islands, and were a distinct people, in the one, from the Irish Scots; and in the other, from the Britons and Caledonian Scots, who were the same People with the Irish. Venerable Bede says, they came over from their Northern abodes in long boats: for it appears from a very ancient Irish record, that Heremon, the son of Milesius, drove them out of Ireland into Scotland, which increased their numbers in the latter to a prodigious degree, from which expulsion there was not one left in Ireland; but they were a very formidable people in Britain many centuries after.

Venerable Bede makes them a distinct people in another place; in ch. i. of his Eccles. Hist. he says: "Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, post Britones et Pictos, Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, &c."



*Note.* AT that period, and for a long time after, Scots and Irish were but different names of the same people.

IV. THE PICTS, as Adamnanus styles them, were “Gentiles “barbari,” till the arrival of Columba among them, an. 566, who was the first Christian missionary received into their country. Whereas, the Britains embraced Christianity in the apostolic age, and the Scots about the end of the second century. Is it to be supposed then, that the Picts would have rejected Christianity for between three and four hundred years after it was adopted by the two adjoining nations, if they had not been widely different from them in their laws, manners, superstitions, and original?

THE Scandinavian nations shewed a greater aversion to Christianity than any others in Europe. Norway did not embrace it till the year 935, nor the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkneys till the year 995.

V. TACITUS observes of the inhabitants of Caledonia, meaning the Picts, that their red hair denoted them to be of German offspring. But had he been acquainted with the more northerly nations, it as strongly argued them to be of Scandinavian extract, as that colour prevails still more over all the kingdom of Norway, than even in Germany, and it still subsists copiously in all the Pictish parts of Scotland, derived probably, from the very people whom Tacitus describes. Whereas the Highlanders are a black-haired people, except in the isles, where great numbers of them have the red hair and complexion of Scandinavia; and accordingly, these are known by very clear tradition, to be the progeny of the Norwegians, who were long settled among them.

*Quære.* Are the antient British recorded as remarkable for having or wanting the red complexion?

VI. THAT the Scots and Picts could not understand one another, in their respective languages, is pretty certain, and I find one remarkable instance of it. Adamnanus, who was abbot of Icolmkil,  
an.

an. 665, and the fourth in succession from the founder Columba, in his life of that famous Monk, published by Canisius and Basnage, relates, that when he passed over to the main land of Scotland, to preach the gospel, for the first time, to the Pictish nation, he spoke to them by an interpreter.

Now, so far as I can recollect, the British and Scots in those days, had no occasion for such a medium. Their language could not then be so different. It was originally the same, and though since divided into the dialects of Bretoon, Cornish, Welsh, Manks, Irish, and Galic, and greatly altered by distance of place and length of time, yet the natives of the six Countries can go near to understand one another to this day, without an interpreter. Does not this strongly insinuate, that the language of the Picts was different from any dialect of the British?

VII. THERE does not exist, that I know of, any authentic monument of the language or characters of the Picts, nor even any certain account of the language or character they used. I suspect, indeed, that their language was Scandinavian, and their character Runic; and, among other things, from this circumstance, that all the Runic inscriptions discovered in Scotland, have been found in that part of the country which was occupied by the Picts.

VIII. THE bulk of those words, usually accounted Scots, I find provincial in some part or other of England; but the remaining words and expressions, that are strictly so, and which exist no where in England, I find either in Sweden and Norway, or in France. The latter owing to our long connection with that kingdom; the former, if I mistake not, to our Pictish predecessors.

IX. OVER all that part of Scotland which the Picts inhabited, many of the names of places and persons are of Scandinavian extraction, and they are purer and more numerous, as we advance Northward, to where the Saxons did not penetrate. These names



are widely different from those in any other part of Britain, and a collection of them would plainly shew that they are not of British origin.

A CURIOUS instance of the same nature, though foreign to the present subject, we have in this neighbourhood. The river Nith, at present the boundary between Galloway and Dumfriesshire, was of old, the boundary between the Northumbrians of the Heptarchy, and the Scots. According to this day, the names of the places on the one side of the river, are all Saxon, and on the other side Celtic.

X. THE height at which navigation subsisted in Scandinavia, in the very early ages, the migrating disposition of its inhabitants, and the vicinity of Scotland, are circumstances, which add to the probability of their settlement in this country.

THESE observations, my Lord, I have mentioned, not as a proof, but as probable arguments in favour of Bishop Stillingfleet's opinion; though Archbishop Usher takes the Picts and Caledonians for the same nation, and Camden considers the Picts, only as the remote part of the uncivilized, unreduced Britains. The discovery of any Pictish inscriptions at Camelon would be a valuable acquisition in this branch of antiquity, and would probably decide the question concerning the origin of that nation. I shall not fail, therefore, to communicate to your Lordship, the first satisfactory information I receive.

By looking into Adamnanus's Life of Columba, I was directed to the origin and etymology of the primacy of Armagh. He makes frequent mention of a monastery founded in Ireland by Columba, before he came into Scotland, by the name of "Monasterium roboreti campi, et roboris campi," and upon several occasions describes the anxiety which Columba entertained for its success and prosperity. What place in Ireland was meant by this name, I could not devise, till looking into Bede, I found, he observes concerning the metropolitan seat in Ireland, that it was called in the language of the Scots *De Armach*, or field of oaks, which is a slight alteration

tion from the present Galic orthography of the word signifying an oak wood, which is *darrach*. The “*Monasterium Roboretum*” of Adamnanus is plainly the Latin translation of this word, and, no doubt, the same place with the present Armagh [b].

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

Moffat, April 28,  
1767.

JOHN WALKER.

[b] Armach cannot be derived from the word for an oak and the place of its growth in the Irish tongue ; because the word for an oak is *dair*, and sometimes *dairvre* : Armach is compounded of two words without the least mutilation, *arm* and *mach* ; *arm* signifies *arma* arms, and *mach* a place, country, or territory ; so that it is most naturally “ a place of arms.”

As to Venerable Bede's appellation, the particle *de* is only a prepositive particle, as is practised now in many local titles, and always was both in Latin and French : and if taken away, it leaves the *armach* intire ; whereas if *dair* was the first part of this compound word, and the *d* taken away, it would be changed to *airmach*, which would signify an airy place, instead of a place of oaks. This shews, that the writer of Columba's life was mistaken, who should have rendered the *Armach* “ *Armorum campi*,” instead of “ *Roboris campi*.” P.



XLVIII. *Dissertation Littéraire sur une Colonie Egiptienne établie à Athènes: Présentée à l'illustre Académie des Antiquaires de Londres. Par Fred. Samuel Schmidt de Berne.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, February 18, 1762.

**J**E trouve un plaisir sensible à rechercher l'origine des arts et des sciences, et à suivre les progrès qu'ils ont fait successivement dans les tems de la plus haute antiquité. Je les vois naissans et come au berceau en Egipte : je les considère dès là portés en Grèce, où ils montent insensiblement au plus haut degré de perfection.

EN Egipte, j'admire une noble simplicité, dans les arts jointe à une grande solidité. En Grèce, j'y remarque beaucoup d'art, de feu, et une heureuse hardiesse.

DANS les sciences, je vois le sombre, le mystérieux Egiptiens couvrir ses dogmes d'un voile épais, repandre l'obscurité et les ténèbres sur sa doctrine : d'un autre côté j'observe le grec, amateur des nouveautés, faisant tous les jours des changemens à sa théologie, ajoutant, retranchant à sa fantaisie, et embrouillant si fort cette science, qu'elle se trouve aujourd'hui remplie de toutes sortes de contradictions et d'absurdités.

MAIS à travers ces changemens, je reconois toujours les Dieux Egiptiens dans la Grèce. Malgré tout ce que les Grecs ont pu faire pour cacher l'origine de leur théologie, il est aisé de lever le masque et de decouvrir qu'ils ont reçu leur culte des Egiptiens. Il est aisé aussi de démontrer, que c'est à l'Egipte que la Grèce est redevable des arts.

POUR

POUR se convaincre de cette vérité, il n'y a qu'à lire l'excellent ouvrage de Mr. le Comte de Caylus, qui fait voir en tant d'endroits, avec évidence, l'afinité des monumens Egiptiens avec ceux des anciens Grecs.

TRANSPORTÉS vous en Grèce, examinés là, come elle étoit dans l'antiquité la plus reculée ; vous y verrés célébrer les mystères d'Isis et d'Osiris, tout come ils l'étoient en Egipte : vous verrés les Athéniens ofrants, au lieu de boeufs, des gâteaux qui en avoient l'empreinte, de l'eau au lieu du vin, conformément aux rits Egiptiens ; vous verrés ce même peuple se servant de monnoies sur lesquelles sont représentés les Sphynx, animaux emblématiques des Egiptiens. Vous ne verrés que des statues de bois, d'une attitude simple, et le plus ordinairement terminées engaine ; en un mot vous ne croirés point que vous soies en Grèce, mais plutôt en Egipte.

CETTE afinité est si grande et si manifeste, que personne ne peut nier, qu'on n'en puisse inferer avec raison, qu'il y a eu une communication entre ces deux peuples ; soit qu'elle se soit faite par les Thraces, anciens colonistes Egiptiens, qui ensuite allèrent s'établir en Grèce ; come je l'ai prouvé dans une dissertation sur ce sujet : soit qu'elle doive être attribuée aux Egiptiens eux mêmes, qui en différens tems ont conduit des colonies en Grèce, come sont celles d'Argos et d'Athènes. C'est de cette dernière colonie que je me propose de traiter dans cette dissertation.

JE n'ai point dessein d'entrer dans tout le détail, où cette matière me paroît naturellement inviter ; mais je me bornerai plutôt à l'examen des preuves les plus sensibles et les plus fortes, qui établissent cette colonie : telles que sont, 1. les témoignages des anciens auteurs : 2. les rois d'Athènes Egiptiens : 3. le culte de Minerve d'Athènes, le même que celui de Mitha ou Minerve Egiptienne honorée à Sais.

I. PLATON, ce grand philosophe, au quel personne ne sauroit refuser croïance, assure, que les Saïtes<sup>1</sup> ont une prédilection pour les

<sup>1</sup> Edition de Serranus, Tome iii. pag. 21. cet auteur dit des Saïtes, μάλα δὲ φιλαθήναιοι καὶ τινὰ τρόπον οἰκεῖν τῶνδ' εἶναι φασίν.

Athéniens,



Athéniens, et qu'ils sont en quelque façon leurs parents. Procle, dans ses commentaires sur le passage du Timé<sup>2</sup>, que je viens de citer, ajoute que les anciens sont partagés à ce sujet, que Callisthènes et Phanodemus<sup>3</sup> avançoient que les Saïtes Egiptiens étoient une colonie des Athéniens; qu'au contraire Theopompus<sup>4</sup> soutenoit sans vanité, aiant uniquement égard au vrai, que les Athéniens étoient une colonie Egiptienne des Saïtes. Il avoit de son côté le témoignage des Egiptiens, que entre plusieurs Colonies sorties de leur país, se vantoient à juste titre d'en avoir conduit une à Athènes.<sup>5</sup> Diodore de Sicile nous l'apprend en disant: "On assure que les Athéniens  
 "sont une colonie des Saïtes, peuples de l'Egipte." Cet auteur s'étend fort au long là dessus, en alléguant toutes les raisons sur lesquelles ce sentiment est fondé. Je les citerai à mesure que j'en aurai besoin, dans le cours de cette dissertation; et je tâcherai de prouver, que Diodore a trop écouté l'ambition, et l'amour propre des Grecs, lors qu'en finissant cet article il dit: "Voilà de quoi  
 "ceux ci se vantent, avec plus de zèle, à mon avis, pour la gloire de  
 "leur nation, que pour la vérité, en ajoutant, que la magnificence  
 "de leurs rois, et le nombre prodigieux des premiers habitans de  
 "l'Egipte a été la cause de transmigrations que nous venons de  
 "marquer, et de plusieurs autres, que nous passons sous silence;  
 "parceque nous ne les voyons soutenues d'aucune preuve assez  
 "sensible ou attestées par aucun monument assez certain."

II. LE conducteur de cette colonie de Saïtes étoit Cecrops; Jean Ztetzes l'assure dans ces vers<sup>6</sup>:

<sup>2</sup> Procle, liv. i. pag. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Epitre d'Apoll. Thyaneus aux Saïtes.

<sup>4</sup> Eusèbe P. Evang. x. 10. pag. 491.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. de Wesseling. Tom. I. liv. i. ch. 33. Καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φασὶν ἀποικίους εἶναι Σαῖτων τῶν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου.

<sup>6</sup> Var. Hist. Chil. xviii. ver. 28.

“ Ut autem a Sai urbe Aegyptia,  
 “ Post Ogygium illud diluvium,  
 “ Cecrops venit Athenas Graeciae<sup>3</sup>.

SANS m'arrêter à un fait aussi connu, je tâcherai de prouver sa vérité par la langue Coste, en démontrant, que le nom de Cecrops est Egiptien, ce qui est le plus sûr argument pour prouver que l'Egipte est le país d'où ce héros vint s'établir à Athènes.

CECROPS étoit prononcé en Egipte Cecrop, car il est certain, que c'étoit la coûtume des Grecs d'ajouter la lettre *s* à la fin d'un mot finissant par *p* ; ainsi au lieu de Pelop, les Grecs disoient Pelops, et dans un autre cas Pelopa, preuve que la lettre *s* n'est pas de l'essence du mot. *Cecrop*, en Egiptien *σιγραψ* *Sigraph* signifie *conjunctio*, *mistio*, *complexio*<sup>9</sup>. C'est éfectivement le nom que les anciens donoient à Cecrops, qui est apellé *Διφυής*, c. à d. “ duplicis  
 “ et mixtae naturae,” et il exprime au juste le mot de *Sigraph* Egiptien. Les auteurs, qui nous apprennent que Cecrops a été apelle de ce nom, sont en grand nombre ; mais ils difèrent beaucoup, quant à l'explication qu'ils en donent. Il y en a qui croient qu'il porte ce nom, parce qu'il a eu en haut la forme d'un home, et en bas celle d'un serpent : Aristophane<sup>1</sup> paroît favoriser cette exposition, en saluant Cecrops de cette maniere :

Ω Κέκροψ ἥρωας ἀναξ, τὰ  
 πρὸς ποδῶν Δρακονίδη.

D'AUTRES asûrent, que c'est parce qu'il fut le premier qui institua à Athènes le mariage. “ Ante Deucalionis tempora,” dit Justin<sup>2</sup>, “ Athenae regem habuere Cecropem, quem, ut omnis

<sup>3</sup> V. aussi Suidas, Cedrenus, et principalement Meursius de Regg. Atheniens. liv. i. ch. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *σι-σιγραψ*, *mistio*, *εἰς*, Kircheri Scala, 476.

<sup>1</sup> Vesp. 444.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. liv. ii. 6.



“fabulosa est antiquitas, biformem tradidere, qui primus marem  
“foeminae matrimonio junxit.”

IL y en a enfin qui disent, que c'est à cause de sa grandeur gigantesque, par laquelle il surpassoit de la moitié les autres homes; ou peut être parce qu'il savoit les deux langues, la Greque et l'Egiptienne.

Voici des vers de Jean Tzetzes à ce sujet <sup>3</sup>.

“Primus omnium in Attica regnat Cecrops,  
“Primus qui (Διφύης) biformis dictus fuit in hunc modum,  
“Vel quod magnitudine duorum hominum proceritatem aequaret,  
“Vel quod Graecae linguae et Aegyptiae peritus, &c.

Toutes les explications, que je viens de rapporter, peuvent avoir leur fondement et conviennent au mot Sigraph, ou Διφύης; il se peut même, que suivant la conjecture de Milord Comte de Winchilsea <sup>4</sup>; on doit expliquer, sur ce fondement, les doubles têtes qu'on voit sur quelques médailles d'Athènes. Ces têtes adossées, représentations emblématiques, paroissent être d'origine Egiptienne, d'où elles furent portées en Grèce et en Etrurie; leur explication est fort obscure, et je n'ai rien de nouveau à ajouter sur leur sujet, à ce qui en a été dit en dernier lieu par Mr. le Comte de Caylus <sup>5</sup>.

L'ARRIVÉE de Cecrops à Athènes est le commencement de l'Ere Attique, et la principale datte des Marbres de Paros. Ce cher et précieux monument de la chronologie ancienne met Cecrops 373 ans avant la prise de Troie. Eusebe met 375. Syncelle au contraire 616. Mais de quelle autorité peut être cet auteur, quand il est en contradiction avec les marbres d'Arundel, avec Eusebe et avec Censorin, qui après l'heureuse restitution <sup>6</sup> qu'en a fait Mr.

<sup>3</sup> V. Hist. Chil. ver. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Haym Tesoro Britannico, part. i. pag. 156.

<sup>5</sup> Tom. II. pag. 149.

<sup>6</sup> Restitution Chron. d'un endroit de Censorin par Mr. Boivin l'ainé dans les Mem. de Lit. de l'Ac. R. des Insc. Tom. IV. pag. 33, et suivantes.

Boivin, met un peu moins de 400 ans, depuis Cecrops jusqu'à la prise de Troie. L'arrivée de ce coloniste Egyptien peut donc être placée avec Selden et Marsham<sup>7</sup> dans l'année 3132 de la période Julienne.

HONORIUS, Freculphus, et Augustin, disent, que le peuple d'Israël sortit d'Egypte dans le tems que Cecrops régnoit à Athènes, ce qui convient à l'antiquité que je viens de donner à ce héros.

CECROPS porta aux Grecs les coutumes et les rites Egyptiens, principalement le respect pour les bêtes animés, dont il ne vouloit pas qu'on fit usage pour les sacrifices. Il défendoit de même l'usage du vin dans les ofrandes, suivant les coutumes des Egyptiens, dont les égards pour les animaux et l'horreur pour le vin sont connus. C'est ainsi que Pausanias<sup>8</sup> nous apprend, que Cecrops n'a pas voulu qu'on immolat à son Dieu Jupiter, des choses qui eussent eu la vie ; mais seulement des liba, ferta, ou gateaux, que les Athéniens appelloient *πελάγες*.

MAIS comment concilier ce que j'avance avec Eusebe<sup>9</sup> et plusieurs autres anciens, qui disent, “ que Cecrops ofrit des boeufs à son “ dieu ? ” Le Grand Meursius a parfaitement levé cette contradiction aparente, en faisant voir que ces *Πέλαιοι* ou Gâteaux des Athéniens<sup>2</sup>, dont on se servoit dans les sacrifices avoient des cornes, et que par cette raison on les apelloit des boeufs ; qu'on leur donoit cette figure, par ce qu'on les mettoit et ofroit à la place de ces animaux si honorés en Egypte. C'est de cette façon qu'on peut expliquer ce que Diogene Laërce<sup>3</sup> raconte, que l'Empedocle immola aux dieux un Boeuf de miel et de farine.

<sup>7</sup> Marsham, Sec. viii. Seld. Com. sur les marbres d'Arundel.

<sup>8</sup> Arcadica.

<sup>9</sup> Isid. Hispal. Orig. viii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus, Gotfridus Viterbiensis, Chron. Parte iv. de Regg. Athen. ch. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux, Liv. vi. ch. 11. Hesych. βῆς, εἶδος πίμαλι.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. viii. ch. 53.



ON ne faisoit point usage du vin au rapport de Pausanias<sup>4</sup> dans les sacrifices de Jupiter, dont le culte fut introduit par Cécrops. Ce heros est mis par cet endroit dans le Zodiaque, à la place de l'Aquarius, c'est ce que Hygin<sup>5</sup> nous apprend, en disant : "Eubulus  
 " autem Cécropem (Aquarium) esse demonstrat, antiquitatem ge-  
 " neris commemorans, et ostendens, antequam vinum traditum sit  
 " hominibus aqua in sacrificiis deorum usos esse, et ante Cécropem  
 " regnasse quam vinum inventum sit." Euripide<sup>6</sup> met de même la coupe de l'Aquarius dans les mains de Cécrops.

Καὶ εἰσόδης ἢ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας,

Σπείρας συνελίσσων, Ἀθηναίων τινὸς

Ἀνάθημα χρυσέας τ' ἐν μέσῳ συσσίτιῳ

Κρατῆρας ἔστησ'.

" Ad januam vero Cécropem prope filias,

" Involutum nodis, Atheniensium cujusdam

" Donarium; aureosque in medio convivio

" Crateres statuit."

PLUTARQUE<sup>7</sup> nous apprend que les Egyptiens avoient le vin en horreur, le regardant come le sang des impies, qui firent autrefois la guerre aux dieux. C'est de là que vient l'abomination<sup>8</sup> que les Mages, les Gnostiques, les Arabes, les Brachmanes, et les Moines de la Chine, ont pour le fruit des vignes; et c'est pour distinguer son peuple du reste des nations idolatres, que Dieu a introduit sous le Vieux Testament l'usage du vin, aussi fréquent dans ses ofrandes.

<sup>4</sup> In Atticis.

<sup>5</sup> Poet. Astron.

<sup>6</sup> In Tragoedia Ione, 1165.

<sup>7</sup> De Is. Tom. II. pag. 353.

<sup>8</sup> M. Michaelis s'étend fort au long à ce sujet dans les Mem. de l'Acad. R. de Gottingen, Tom IV. 108. dans une Dissert. qui a pour titre, " De Legibus Moſis  
 " Palaestinam Populo caram facturis."

SANS entrer dans discussion exacte des sciences et des arts, que ce coloniste aprit aux Athéniens<sup>9</sup>, je finirai son article par ce que Tacite nous apprend que Cecrops donna un alphabet aux Athéniens<sup>1</sup>. Ces lettres sont plus anciennes que celles de Cadmus<sup>2</sup>, et cet alphabet contenoit les vieilles lettres Attiques. C'est avec ces caractères qu'étoit gravée l'inscription de Mégare, le plus ancien monument de pierre que Pausanias<sup>3</sup> eût vû en Grèce, et qui fut trouvé dans le tombeau de Corebus, et érigé peu de tems après la mort de Cecrops.

DE ce premier conducteur des Egyptiens à Athènes, je passe au second, qui est *Erichonius*.

LES historiens<sup>4</sup> et les chronologistes anciens font mention de deux différens rois d'Athènes, qui ont porté le même nom, et qui pour cette raison ont souvent été confondus ; ils s'appelloient ERECHTEUS ou ERICHTONIUS : ces deux noms sont les mêmes selon les scholastes d'Homère<sup>5</sup> ; un d'entr'eux a été le quatrième, et l'autre le sixième, des rois d'Athènes.

C'est du premier de ce deux rois, que Diodore de Sicile<sup>6</sup> nous apprend qu'il étoit Egyptien d'origine ; et que dans les tems d'une grande famine qui désoloit l'Attique, ce héros apporta du bled aux Athéniens, à cause de l'alliance<sup>7</sup> que ceux-ci avoient avec les Egyptiens, c. à d. à cause de la colonie établie auparavant par Cecrops.

POUR le récompenser de ses bienfaits, les Athéniens le reconurent pour leur roi, et donèrent à son frère *Butes* le sacrédoce de Minerve

<sup>9</sup> Annales, Liv. xi. ch. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀττικὰ γράμματα τὰ ἀρχαῖα.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. Pausan. Liv. iv. ch. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. Liv. i. ch. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Sigonius de Tempp. Athen.

<sup>5</sup> Homère, Il. B. ver. 552.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. i. Tom. I. 33. Ed. de Wesseling, et pag. 57. Tom. I. de la Trad. de M. l'Abbé Terrasson.

<sup>7</sup> Il y a dans le Grec διὰ τὴν ἐγγύτητα, "propter cognationis vinculum."



et de Neptune. On raconte aussi qu'*Erichthonius* aprit aux Eleusiens les mystères de Ceres. Ne pourroit on point expliquer cela du moins en partie de la provision de bled, que ce coloniste Egyptien leur procura, et de l'art de l'agriculture qu'il perfectionna dans ces pays ?

LES etymologies ridicules des Grammairiens qui ont voulu expliquer le nom d'*Erichthonius*, par la langue Grèque, m'ont engagé à chercher plutôt dans la langue Egyptienne et dans la patrie de ce heros l'etymologie de son nom. Je me flatte que l'on trouvera assés probable celle que je vai doner. Le mot ancien Egyptien est *Erichto*, de là les Grecs ont fait *Erichtheus*, *Erichthonius*, come d'*Apollo*, *Apollonius*. Ce nom est composé de *epi facere rei alicujus auctorem esse*, et  $\gamma\theta o^8$  *chto* ou *ichto*, *equus*, *equitatus*. De là *Eri-chto author equitatus et equorum*. C'est l'emploi que les anciens donoient unanimement à *Erichthonius*.

VIRGILE en ces vers. Georg. iii. v. 113.

“ Primus *Erichthonius* currus et quatuor aufus

“ Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis infistere victor.”

SERVIVS<sup>9</sup>, Ariftide, et d'autres confirment tous, que ce heros dompta le premier les chevaux, et les attela à son char.

C'EST pour éterniser la mémoire de cette invention, qu'*Erichthonius* a été placé après sa mort au ciel, et que dans la sphère des anciens il est représenté sous les noms d'*Auriga*, d'*Agitator*, ou de *Heniochus*. C'est ce que Germanicus nous apprend dans ces vers que je cite d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Berne, qui difère ici, come en

<sup>8</sup> Il y a aparence qu'avant la consone du mot  $\gamma\theta o$  *chto*, les Egyptiens mettoient la voïelle *i*, ce qui feroit *er-ichto*.

Er, ar, eri, iri, reviennent toujours dans langue Costè de là *Osiri*  $\omega\zeta\theta\text{-}i\pi\iota$ , le *Nil* et le *Soleil* signifient le dieu auteur de la moisson et des fruits.  $\alpha\gamma\gamma\theta o$   $\mu\text{-}\gamma\theta o$  خيل.

<sup>9</sup> Kirch. Scala, 166. Version Coste, Gen. xl. 17. et xlix. 19.

bien d'autres endroits, de l'Edition de Morel<sup>1</sup>, dont j'ai coutume de me servir.

“ Est etiam Aurigae facies, sive Attide terrâ,  
 “ Natus Erichthonius, qui primus sub juga duxit  
 “ Quadrupedes; seu Myrtoas demersus in undas  
 “ Myrtilus hunc potius species in fidere reddit.  
 “ Sic nulli currus, sic ruptis moestus habenis,  
 “ Perfidia Pelopis raptam gemit Hippodamiam.”

Voici ce que Hygin<sup>2</sup> dit à ce sujet: “ Heniodeus, hunc nos  
 “ Aurigam Latine dicimus nomine Erichthonium, ut Eratosthenes  
 “ monstrat, quem Jupiter, cum vidisset primum inter homines equos  
 “ quadrigis junxisse, admiratus est ingenium hominis ad solis inventa  
 “ accessisse.” Avienus dans ses phénomènes le nomme aussi Auri-  
 gator, et lui donne cet emploi, dans les vers suivans:

—————“ Ille impiger autem  
 “ Pulcher Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus  
 “ Junxit equos.”

MAIS ce qui confirme le plus mon etymologie, et répand une  
 nouvelle lumière sur cette colonie, c'est qu'Erichthonius et Erichteus,  
 est un de prénoms des Neptune<sup>3</sup>. Lycophon, Tsetzes, Hesychius,  
 et d'autres anciens, disent qu'Erichteus est Neptune parmi les  
 Athéniens: Plutarque<sup>4</sup> en deux différens endroits fait mention du  
 sacerdote de Neptune Erichthonius<sup>5</sup>. Ce dieu est ainsi nommé,

<sup>1</sup> N'ayant point vu l'ed. de Germanicus publiée par Grotius, je ne sai si ces variations s'y trouvent déjà.

<sup>2</sup> Poet. Astron. II. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cassandre, vers. 158. Coment. de Tsetzes, pag. 32. Greque de Bâle. Hesych.  
 Ἐρεχθίδης, Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις.

<sup>4</sup> Athenagoras, Leg. pro Christ.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarque, Vie de Lycurgue.

suivant



suivant ma conjecture, parce que c'est lui que l'on a crû être le premier inventeur et l'auteur de l'équitation des Grecs : Sophocle et Diodore de Sicile attestent cette vérité. Pausanias <sup>7</sup> parle d'une statue equestre de Neptune érigée à Athènes, et pour rendre raison du prénom *Ἰππιό* qu'on donoit anciennement à Neptune, il a recours à l'invention de l'équitation, de la quelle il prouve qu'elle étoit attribuée à ce dieu. Les Hymnes d'Homère donent deux emplois à Neptune, celui de l'équitation, et celui de la navigation.

*Διχθαί τοι, ἐννοσίγαιε θεοὶ τιμῶ ἐδάσαντο*

*Ἴππῶν τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι, σῶτῆρά τε Νηῶν.*

C'ÉTOIT la même chose en Italie : les Etrusques représentoient aussi Neptune trainé dans un char ; c'est ainsi que nous les voions dans un monument de cette nation publié par Demster <sup>8</sup>. C'est par la même raison que Romulus dédia à ce dieu les fêtes appelées *Con-fualia* <sup>9</sup>, dans lesquelles on avoit coutume de couronner les chevaux.

LES anciens vont même plus loin, Neptune n'est pas seulement l'inventeur de l'équitation, mais c'est lui qui a créé et produit le premier cheval ; rien de si commun dans les auteurs de mythologie, que la table touchant Neptune, qui en frappant la terre par son trident en fit sortir le premier cheval. Deux passages d'anciens poètes me serviront ici de preuve. Voici le premier, qui est tiré de Lucain :

“ *Primus ab aequorea percussis cuspide faxis*

“ *Theffalicus sonipes, bellis feralibus omen,*

“ *Exiliit.*”

VIRGILE <sup>1</sup> nous apprend la même chose dans le vers suivans :

———“ *Tuque ô, cui prima frementem*

“ *Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,*

“ *Neptune.*”

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. Attica, p. in 2. Achaica, 227.

<sup>8</sup> Tab. 74. et Gorius Mus. Etr. Tom. II. 169.

<sup>9</sup> Denis d'Halicarnasse, pag. 26. Ed. de Silburg.

<sup>1</sup> Georg. i.

CE n'est donc point sans raison que Neptune est appelé Erechteus. Ce nom lui convient dans toute sa signification. Il est non seulement l'inventeur de l'équitation, mais aussi le dieu qui fit présent aux hommes des chevaux ; c'est à juste titre que Pamphus le plus ancien hymnographe d'Athènes l'appelle ἱππων δότης.

PEUT être même fera-t-on ici deux questions ; pourquoi, demandera-t-on, ce coloniste Egyptien est-il appelé Erechteus ou Neptune ? Et pourquoi les anciens ont-ils attribué l'équitation à l'une et à l'autre ? Serait-ce parce que les Egyptiens, qui vinrent par mer en Grèce, furent en même temps les premiers auteurs de l'équitation des Grecs ? Cette réponse ne me satisfait point, et j'en ai une autre qui me paraît plus solide, fondée sur ce que l'équitation dans les temps les plus anciens étoit l'emblème de la navigation. Cette vérité a été démontrée par Monsieur Fréret, dans ses ingénieuses réflexions sur les Fondemens Historiques de la Fable de Bellerophon<sup>2</sup> : le Pégase de ce héros, n'est, suivant cet auteur, qu'un vaisseau, dont il se servit dans ses expéditions. Ainsi Neptune, dans sa dispute avec Minerve, fit sortir le cheval de la terre ; c. à d. qu'il conseilla aux Athéniens la navigation, Minerve de son côté en fit sortir l'olivier ; c. à d. qu'elle conseilla l'agriculture.

DE là il résulte, qu'Erichthonius qui arriva en Grèce avec des vaisseaux chargés de bled, étoit ainsi nommé, parce que d'Egypte il vint par mer pour soulager les Athéniens ses anciens compatriotes.

QUELLE pourroit être en fin la raison pourquoi les anciens ont représenté la navigation sous l'emblème de l'équitation<sup>3</sup> ? Est-ce à cause de la vitesse de courses et de l'affinité qu'ils trouvoient entre ces deux façons de voyager ? Est-ce à cause des représentations sur la proue des vaisseaux ? Pourroit-on peut-être l'expliquer de la tête

<sup>2</sup> Hist. de l'Acad. R. des Inf. et Belles L. Tom. IV. Ed. d'Amst. pag. 57. et suiv.

<sup>3</sup> Voyés la dessus le Docte Comment. de Meursius sur Lycophron. pag. 336. ἱππύειν Νῆες δονῶσιν ὀχήματα τέκτον' dit le Scholiaste d'Euripide. Phoeniss.



de cheval fimbole de Carthage, ville fondée par une flotte de Phéniciens ? Seroit de cette manière qu'on doit entendre la prise de Troïe attribuée au cheval de bois, c. à d. à un vaisseau rempli de soldats. Il paroît que Plaute<sup>4</sup> fait allusion à cette fable, en disant :

“ Nempe equo ligneo per vias coeruleas

“ Estis vecti.”

LA mémoire d'Erechtheus et sa gloire se sont conservées jusques à nos jours ; nous admirons et contemplons avec étonnement les beaux restes du magnifique temple<sup>5</sup> érigé à son honneur à Athènes ; monument qui faisoit autrefois, et qui fait encore aujourd'hui un des plus superbes ornemens de cette ville.

IL y a encore un troisième coloniste, qui est PETES. Diodore de Sicile<sup>6</sup> nous apprend, qu'il étoit Egyptien, Père de *Menestheus*, onzième roi d'Athènes, qui perdit la vie au siège de Troïe.

Nous savons fort peu de chose de ce Pétes ; et je ne m'arrêterai qu'à son nom, qui me paroît composé de *Pet*<sup>7</sup>, qui signifie *Prêtre*, et *es, is, Isis*. Pétes au lieu de Petifis, “ sacerdos Ifidis.” Nous connoissons un Petifis Egyptien ; dont Arrien fait mention dans l'expédition d'Alexandre le Grand ; Jamblique<sup>8</sup> nous a aussi conservé la mémoire d'un Bytis misse Egyptien. J'explique de même les noms propres Petosiris<sup>9</sup>, prêtre d'Osiris ; Petesuchus<sup>1</sup>, prêtre du Crocodile ; Petencit, prêtre de Minerve ; et Petephre, prêtre du

<sup>4</sup> Rud. Act. I. “ sc. qui sunt.”

<sup>5</sup> On en voit les plans dans les desseins d'antiqu. d'Athènes publiées en Angleterre, par Richard Dalton.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. I. pag. 33.

<sup>7</sup> Les reduplications dans les mots Egyptiens sont souvent omises. On peut fort bien dire Petes pour Petifis.

<sup>8</sup> Liv. III. chap. v. ver. 109. ed. de Gronovius. Βίτυς Προφήτης.

<sup>9</sup> V. Jamb. de Myster. pag. 161. ed. d'Oxford, par Th. Gale.

<sup>1</sup> Petesuchus ap. Plin. H. N. XXXVI. 13.

Soleil. Le fils de ce Petes est Manestheus; ce nom est encore Egyptien, et le même que celui du fameux Manethos.

Ce sont là les chefs des Athéniens qui vinrent d'Egypte. Diodore de Sicile qui en fait l'énumération omet Cecrops, et appelle Petes <sup>2</sup> Διφυής; mais Palmérius, Marshall, et Wesselinus, ont déjà remarqué, que le texte de cet auteur est corrompu, et que ce pronom convient à Cecrops, qui a été oublié par les Copistes.

III. Je passe à la dernière preuve de cette colonie, fondée sur le rapport de Platon <sup>3</sup>, qui nous apprend que la principale Déesse de Sais étoit Neitha, que les Grecs lui donnoient le nom d' [Αθηνᾶ], et les Latins celui de Minerve. Cecrops et ces colonistes portèrent de Sais le culte de cette divinité <sup>4</sup> à Athènes. On voyoit, à ce que nous dit Pausanias <sup>5</sup>, un temple érigé en Grèce à l'honneur de la Minerve de Sais. Cette déesse est fort ancienne en Egypte, où l'adoroit déjà du tems du Patriarche Joseph. Je le prouve par le nom de sa femme Asenet <sup>6</sup>, qui suivant la conjecture de Mr. Jablonki signifie "cultrix Minervae". Le nom de cette divinité étoit Neit, Nit, Net, Neitha; de là dérivent les noms propres Egyptiens, Nitetis <sup>7</sup>, Psammeniti et Pateneit <sup>8</sup>. Il est difficile de donner une étymologie probable de ce mot; plusieurs savans l'ont tenté, et celle de Mr. Renaudot <sup>9</sup> confirmée en dernier lieu par un savant anonyme me paroît

<sup>2</sup> Coment. sur D. de Sicile, Tom. I. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Tom. III. pag. 21. 'Ο, (in Sai) ὁ Πόλεως Θεὸς ἀρχηγός ἐστιν, Αἰγυπλίῃσι μὲν τένομα Νηϊθ, Ἑλληνισὶ δὲ ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος Ἀθηνᾶ.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, N. D. L. III. "Minerva secunda orta Nilo, quam Aegypti Saitae colunt."

<sup>5</sup> Liv. ii. pag. 36. ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Σαῖτιδος.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xli. ver. 45. en Hebreu, אֲסַנַּת asenath, et dans la Verf. des LXX. Ἀσενέθ.

<sup>7</sup> Hesych. Νηϊθα, Ἀθηνᾶ παρ' Αἰγυπλίοις.

<sup>8</sup> La Crose Epist. Tom. III. pag. 155.

<sup>9</sup> Tabl. Panth. Tom. I. pag. 76.

<sup>9</sup> Mem de l'Acad. des Insc. Tom. II. pag. 339. edit. d'Amst.



la plus probable. Il fait dériver ce mot de *Nauti, Deus ens summum*<sup>1</sup> : je n'entre point dans la discussion du mot *Ἀθηνᾶ*, me contentant de remarquer qu'un auteur moderne croit y voir les vestiges du mot *Neitha*.

QUE la Minerve d'Athènes soit dans son origine la même que celle des Egyptiens ; c'est ce qui ne peut être nié, après les témoignages que je viens de rapporter ; mais il ne faut point croire que tout ce que les Grecs ont attribué à leur Minerve soit venu d'Egypte.

IL y a, par exemple, une grande dispute entre M. Sablonfki<sup>1</sup> et l'Abé Pluche<sup>2</sup> sur la question, si l'olivier parmi les Egyptiens étoit consacré à Minerve, et si ceux ci attribuoient à cette déesse l'invention de l'huile d'olives, come ont fait les Athéniens. Ce dernier auteur pose ce fait pour certain, quoique tous les passages des anciens auteurs<sup>3</sup>, qui méritent toujours nos égards et nos attentions, concurent à nous apprendre, qu'il n'y avoit point d'oliviers dans la Basse Egypte<sup>4</sup>, et que cet arbre étoit consacré en Egypte, non à Minerve, mais à Mercure.

LA grande preuve de Mr. l'Abé Pluche et de ses partisans, est le nom de *Sais*<sup>5</sup>, qui en Hebreu et en Egyptien signifie olivier. Je passe sous silence quelques autres etymologies probables, que j'aurois,

<sup>1</sup> “ *Naturae et Script. Concordia*, pag. 240. On Croit que l'auteur de ce scavant Traité est Mr. Wachter.

<sup>2</sup> *Pantheon*, Tom. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. du Ciel*, I. pag 184.

<sup>4</sup> *Strabon*, liv. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. S. I.* τὸ ἐλαίαις τὸ φύλον Ἑρμῆν δορεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἀθηνᾶν ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες φασίν.

<sup>6</sup> En Hebreu סַיִט *Sait*. En Egyptien Ⲭⲱⲓⲧ *Verf. Cofte Math. xxvi. 30.* et *Scala Kircheri*, pag. 178.

La prononciation de la lettre Ⲭ *Giangua* en l. *Cofte* est difficile, et je crois qu'on ne feroit pas mal de la comparer avec le *Ice*, qui se trouve dans l'alphabet Arménien parfaitement sous la même forme, dont la prononciation est par un François *dg* ante *e* aux Anglois *j* consone, aux Allemands *Isch*, Ⲭⲱⲓⲧ, doit donc être prononcé *Ischoit*.

du mot de Sais, et j'aime mieux faire une petite digression pour refuter cet argument, qui, suivant les auteurs serve d'un côté à établir que l'olivier étoit consacré à Minerve, et ensuite à prouver cette afinité des langues Hébraïque et Égyptienne, qui quoique entièrement imaginaire, ne laisse pas d'être crüe par bien des savans.

Je détruirai ces deux conséquences par le raisonnement suivant ; fondé sur ce que nous savons par le rapport des anciens, que les Égyptiens ont eu leur huile d'olives de la terre d'Israël <sup>6</sup>. Les Juifs trafiquoient avec cette marchandize en Égypte ; ils avoient peut être leur entrepos d'huile à Sais ; cette marchandise étrangère a conservé son nom en Égypte ; tout come les fruits et les drogues qui nous viennent de pais étrangers gardent les noms qu'ils possédoient dans leur pais natal. Ainsi l'huile est appelée Sait, non seulement dans tous les dialectes qui ont du rapport avec l'Hébreu, mais aussi dans les langues des Égyptiens et des Arméniens, dont chacune diffère entièrement de toutes les langues connues. Les Égyptiens s'étant ensuite établis à Athènes plantèrent des oliviers, qui y réussirent ; ils les dédièrent à Minerve, non point pour suivre en cela les coutumes Égyptiennes, mais simplement suivant les usages des anciens de consacrer ce qu'il y a de plus célèbre dans un pais à sa divinité principale et protectrice.

JE ne puis passer sous silence une petite observation sur le mot *χωιτ*, qui come je viens de le prouver signifie l'olivier. Ce même mot se trouve au pluriel dans le Dictionnaire Coïte et Arabe du P. Kircher <sup>7</sup>, où il est traduit par “ fornicatores, adulteri.” J'ai découvert l'origine d'une traduction si fautive. Kircher a lû dans l'Arabe, Alzanion ; où il auroit falu lire Alzeitunon. Cette correction ne dépend que du changement de points, la figure des lettres

<sup>7</sup> Kimchius in Hoseae, ch. xii. 1.

<sup>8</sup> En Armenien *Eseth*.

<sup>9</sup> Pag. 440. *חי-חויט* *الزيتون* lisez *الزيتون*



reste entièrement la même. Voilà qui prouve le peu d'attention qu'a eu Kircher en publiant son livre, et qui fait voir en même tems la nécessité de la connoissance de la langue Arabe pour se servir utilement de cette ouvrage. Mais venons à notre sujet.

UNE autre afinité qu'on suppose entre la Minerve des Egyptiens et celle des Grecs, c'est qu'on dit que la Minerve des Egyptiens étoit vierge, come celle des Grecs ; on le prouve par le témoignage de Plutarque, qui cite une inscription de Sais, dans la quelle Minerve se vante, que jamais personne n'a relevé son voile<sup>2</sup>. Le grand Mosheim et le savant Jablonki ne veulent point admettre cette inscription, ils la regardent come forgée d'après la théologie Grèque. Je ne me servirai donc point de cette preuve, qui souffre quelques difficultés, aussi n'en ai je pas besoin, aiant des conformités sûres et certaines, qui prouvent que la Neitha de Sais est la même que la Minerve des Grecs.

MINERVE, déesse guerrière des Grecs, étoit honorée sous cette même qualité en Egypte : je ne prétens point prouver ce que j'avance par les médailles de Sais, où on voit Minerve armée d'un casque et d'un lance ; les médailles<sup>3</sup> de l'Egypte frappées sous les Empereurs Romains, ne sont point les véritables représentations des vieux Egyptiens<sup>4</sup> ; mais je le prouve par ce que Procle nous dit, que la Minerve des Egyptiens et des Grecs ont l'une et l'autre les deux qualités d'être guerrières et Philosophes à la fois. Je le prouve aussi par ce que nous savons, suivant le témoignage d'Horapollo<sup>5</sup>, que l'Escarbot étoit l'emblème de cette déesse. Or l'Escarbot, à ce que nous apprennent Plutarque<sup>6</sup> et Elie<sup>7</sup>, étoit le fimbole des guerriers, et servoit ordinairement de cachet aux soldats Egyptiens.

<sup>1</sup> Coment. sur le le Siftème de Cudwort, 398.

<sup>2</sup> Vaillant Aeg. numism. pag. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Coment. sur le Timé, pag. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. i. chap 20. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ καὶ νῆαρον.

<sup>5</sup> De Is. et Os. 355.

<sup>6</sup> Ael. Hist. An. X. 15.

DANS le catalogue d'*Eratosthenes*<sup>7</sup>, conservé par *Manethos*, nous voions une reine d'Egipte nommée Νίτωρις. Ce mot signifie Ἀθηνᾶ Νικηφόρος. C'est explication que cet ancien lui donne, et qui trouve sa confirmation dans la langue Cofte. Qu'on compare à présent, avec ce titre, les médailles d'Athènes de Milord Comte de Winchelsea, où on lit les mots ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ "Minervae victricis."

MAIS suivant le passage de Procle, que je viens de citer, Minerve n'étoit pas seulement une déesse guerrière, c'étoit aussi une philosophe. Elle étoit la déesse de la sagesse en Egipte, aussi bien qu'en Grèce; soit qu'on veuille dire, qu'elle est l'esprit qui gouverne l'univers, soit simplement par ce qu'on fait que la Minerve d'Egipte, étoit déesse des sciences et des arts. Un des arts les plus utiles, est celui de filer et de faire la toile; c'est aux Egiptiens que nous en sommes redevables; et c'est à leur Minerve, que ce peuple, tout comme les Grecs, attribuoit cette belle invention.

PERSONE n'ignore les beaux habits que faisoient les anciens Egiptiens de leur Byffus<sup>8</sup>, dont s'habilloient non seulement leurs prêtres idolâtres, mais qui servoient aussi à orner ceux du vrai Dieu, dont les habits étoient de Schesch Egiptien, car ce mot, si vous ajoutés l'article Bi, est entièrement le même que celui de Biffus.

LA coutume de porter ces habits de lin, coutume originaire d'Egipte, s'est conservée, suivant Thucydide jusques au tems de la première guerre du Péloponèse.

EUSTATHE, dans ses commentaires sur l'Iliade d'Homère, nous apprend, qu'une femme Egiptienne fit la première<sup>9</sup>, des ouvrages de Tisseranderie, et qu'elle travailla assise à son métier; il ajoute que

<sup>7</sup> Vignole, Chron. Tom. II. pag. 755.

<sup>8</sup> Haim Tesoro-Brit. Tom. II. pag. 78.

<sup>9</sup> Maimonides in Hilch. Kele Hami. ch. viii. " ubicunque in lege occurrit שש "

" schesch aut bad, intelligitur Linum et quidem Byffus." Thucyd. l. i.

<sup>1</sup> Il. A. pag. 31. edition de Rome.



c'est ainsi que les Egyptiens représentent leur Minerve, nous le voyons en effet dans la table Isiaque<sup>2</sup>. C'étoit aussi la même chose en Grèce, où, suivant Strabon<sup>3</sup>, les statues de cette déesse étoient toutes assises. On en voyoit de pareilles à Chios, dans la Phocide, et à Marseille, et on en voit encore aujourd'hui de semblables en Italie<sup>4</sup>. C'étoit là le plus grand degré de perfection. Il paroît, que les Tisserans postérieurs avoient oublié cette manière de travailler assis; puis que dans les monumens anciens, qui nous représentent des Tisserans, comme sont le Virgile du Vatican et les images peintes d'un Comentaire de Job de la bibliothèque du Roi, nous voyons toujours le Tisseran de bout, tenant dans sa main, non une navette, mais seulement un petit bâton, qui peut être a donné l'origine à ce bâton qu'on voit souvent dans les mains de Minerve, et que les antiquaires prennent ordinairement pour un bâton de commandement.

MONSIEUR l'Abé Fontenu<sup>5</sup>, dans une pièce de goût, publiée dans les Mémoires de Litterature de Paris, me fournit une nouvelle preuve de l'afinité de la Minerve des Egyptiens, avec celle des Grecs; en ce que les Athéniens faisoient voir à la fête des grands Panathénées<sup>6</sup>, un vaisseau sur lequel étoit l'habit mystérieux de la déesse. Seroit ce pour marquer la navette des Tisserans? Cette opinion seroit probable à cause du voile de Minerve, qui étoit posé sur ce vaisseau; mais il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable, que c'étoit, ou pour marquer que le culte de Minerve étoit étranger à Athènes, venu au de là de la mer; ou plutôt à l'imitation de ce fameux navire d'Isis<sup>7</sup>, si célèbre en Egypte; car l'Isis Egyptienne est, au rapport de Plutarque, la même que la leur; et la Minerve des Grecs est aussi Isis, au rapport d'Ulpien; le vaisseau d'Isis appartient à cette déesse parce qu'elle

<sup>2</sup> Littera Z. edition de Frisius.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Gallerie Justinienne.

<sup>5</sup> Tom. VIII. sur l'Isis adorée chés les Suèves.

<sup>6</sup> Meursius Panathenaea, dans le Tresor. de Gronovius, Tom. III. pag. 97.

<sup>7</sup> De Iside, pag. 354. τὸ δὲ ἐν Σάει τῇ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν καὶ Ἰσιν νομίζουσιν, ἔδωκεν.

est la lune<sup>8</sup>; car on fait que les Egyptiens représentoient les astres dans des navires.

DANS ces mêmes fêtes des grands Panathées, je trouve encore d'autres rapports avec les Pompes Isiaques des Egyptiens. Les filles qui portoient de l'eau dans des cruches<sup>9</sup>, appelées ὑδριαφόροι, étoient en imitation de ces Egyptiennes, qui, dans les fêtes d'Isis, portoient dans des vases l'eau du Nil, le cher epoux de cette déesse.

LES Egyptiens prétendoient, suivant Diodore de Sicile<sup>1</sup>, qu'Isis avoit inventé plusieurs remèdes<sup>2</sup> souverains, et qu'elle avoit une parfaite connoissance de la médecine; ils ajoutoient même depuis, qu'elle jouissoit de l'immortalité<sup>3</sup>; elle prenoit plaisir à paroître pendant le sommeil aux homes, qui imploroient son secours dans leurs maladies. Voila donc encore une nouvelle preuve, qui confirme que la Minerve des Grecs est la même qu'Isis<sup>4</sup> ou Naitha des Egyptiens. Minerve, avoit, en qualité de déesse de la médecine, des temples en Grèce<sup>5</sup>; elle en avoit de même à Rome<sup>6</sup>, par le même endroit; et c'est pour cette raison, que dans les monumens<sup>7</sup> des anciens, nous la voions souvent accompagnée de serpens. Je prévois qu'on me demandera, si les disputes de Minerve avec Neptune sont originaires d'Egypte, ou si c'est une invention Grèque? Ou je me trompe fort, ou ces disputes ne sont que des restes des traditions Egyptiennes touchant la guerre d'Isis et Osiris<sup>8</sup> son epoux, avec Typhon, qui dans leur

<sup>8</sup> Ulpian sur Démosthène contra Midiam.

<sup>9</sup> Meursius Panath. pag. 102.

<sup>1</sup> Diodore de Sicile, Tom. I. liv. i. pag. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Gruter Thes. pag. 83. 15. Minerve est nommée SALVTARIS. Les Grecs l'appellent Ὑγία.

<sup>3</sup> Voiés le Coment. de Broekhouse sur Tibulle, l. i. iii. pag. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias.

<sup>5</sup> Montfauc. Diar. Ital. pag. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Rufus et Victor in Reg. Esquilina.

<sup>7</sup> La Chauffe Pierre gravée.

<sup>8</sup> Plutarque de Is. et Os. pag. 363.



système étoit principalement la mer : ce que les témoignages de Plutarque mettent hors de doute. C'est de là, que ce peuple avoit en horreur les mariniens, le poisson, le sel de la mer, qu'ils appelloient *Ecume de Typhon*. C'est aussi par la même raison que ce géant étoit crû de couleur rousse, qui est celle de la mer voisine du pays.

ON m'objectera peut être que j'ai tort de confondre le dieu Neptune avec un monstre tel que Typhon ; mais Hérodote<sup>9</sup> répondra pour moi, en disant, que les Egyptiens n'ont point connu le dieu Neptune, c. à d. que la mer n'étoit pas une divinité adorée en Egypte ; mais plutôt qu'elle y étoit le monstre le plus détesté de la nature. Virgile fera garant de ce que j'avance, quand, dans son *Ciris*<sup>1</sup>, il attribue à Minerve la victoire sur Typhon.

“ Ergo Palladiae texuntur in ordine pugnae :

“ Magna giganteis ornantur pepla tropaeis :

“ Horrida sanguineo pinguntur proelia cocco :

“ Additur aurata dejectus cuspide Typho.”

IL y a eu des savans<sup>2</sup> qui ont avancé, que le nom de Neptune vient de Neptin, divinité maritime des Egyptiens, et femme de Typhon. Sans discuter la probabilité de cette etymologie, j'ajouterai seulement, que suivant ma conjecture, cette même victoire que je viens de décrire, est représentée sur un monument Etrusque, publié par Mons. le Comte de Caylus<sup>3</sup>, avec cette seule différence que la déesse poursuit, non Neptune ou Typhon, mais Hermanubis fils illégitime de Neptin.

JE finirai cette dissertation par l'ingenieuse conjecture d'Olearius<sup>4</sup>, qui faisant fond sur cette colonie de Saïtes à Athènes, tâche de

<sup>9</sup> Livre ii. Chap. 50.

<sup>1</sup> V. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cudworth's True Intellectual System, pag. 310.

<sup>3</sup> Rec. d'Ant. Tom. II. Plan. xx. N°. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Godfrid. Olearii Diff. de Gestis Pauli ap. Athen. parag. 19.

répandre une nouvelle lumière sur le dieu inconnu, dont il est fait mention aux Actes des Apôtres<sup>5</sup>. Il croit qu ce dieu est la Neitha des Egyptiens, divinité qui représentoit l'entendement invifible et éternel. Cet auteur tire fa grande preuve des infcriptions de Sais, qui fe trouvent dans Plutarque et Procle<sup>6</sup> : dans celle de ce dernier auteur la déeffe parle ainfi : τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐσόμενα, καὶ τὰ γεγονότα ἐγὼ εἰμι ; τὸν ἐμὸν χιτῶνα εἰς αἰεὶ ἀπεκάλυψεν ; “ Je fuis ce qui est, ce qui fera, et “ ce qui a été ; perfone n'a relevé mon habit.” Voilà, dit Olearius, le dieu inconnu ; et on doit encore remarquer que Jefus Christ, au quel St. Paul dit que ce nom convient, est appellé dans les Saintes ecritures, ὁ ὢν, ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, “ celui qui est, qui a été, et qui “ fera ;” et que c'est dans ce mots qu'est contenu, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, “ le mystère couvert d'un voile épais que perfone n'a relevé.

LA Neitha des Egyptiens est donc la même que la Minerve des Grecs. Les colonistes de Sais portèrent son culte à Athènes, on y voit encore bien des restes de son origine Egyptienne ; mais on s'apperçoit aussi des changemens et des aditions que les Grecs ont fait, soit par superstition, ou plutôt par ambition, et par orgueil, pour cacher autant qu'il étoit possible leur véritable origine, qui loin de leur fair tort, leur auroit fait honneur, s'ils n'eussent mieux aimés se dire nés du sein de la terre, que de reconoitre ce qu'ils devoient aux Egyptiens leurs ancêtres, dont ils ont imité et surpassé si glorieusement les traces, dans l'exercice des arts et la culture des Sciences.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xvii. ver. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Coment. sur le Timé, pag. 30.



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XLIX. *Ogmios Luciani ex Celticismo illustratus, auctore*  
Frid. Samuel Schmidt Helvet Bernaf.

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 26, 1762.

**Q**UI veritatis indagandae studio ea, quae de Mercurio vetustas prodidit, diligentius animo volvit, is non modo Gallorum deum, veram etiam, nisi me fallit animus, primum hujus gentis ducem reperiet, quem Galli ut suum heroem, suum ducem, quinimo suum Herculem caeteris gentibus opposuerunt, utpote non minus strenuum et facundum. Etenim gentium conductores<sup>1</sup>, quae late per terras et maria immensa dispersae, in heroum, imo deorum<sup>2</sup> immortalium numero veteribus fuisse positos, antiqua suadent historiarum monumenta. De Gallis quis dubitet, reliquarum imitatos consuetudinem, primum suum ducem, quisquis ille demum fuerit, eo honoris dignitatisque evexisse ut reliquis gentium conductoribus aemulum facerent. Hunc esse Herculem illum Ogmium, de quo praeter Lucianum, nemo veterum aliquid memoriae prodidit, nova via stabilire decrevi; et circa hunc proavorum nostrorum deum, ea, quae vel lectione veterum, vel propria meditatione affecutus sum, paucis expediam.

QUAERO primo quis sit Hercules a Gallis Ogmios dictus? Porro quare illum attributis illis condecoraverint, quae Lucianus refert?

DEXTRO igitur, ut aiunt, Hercule, et bene fortunante Mercurio, occasionem quaestionis praemittam, et quid ex Luciano per legitimam consequentiam astrui possit breviter dicam; Gallos nimirum

<sup>1</sup> Spanheim de Ufu et Praest. Num. Diff. vi. pag. m. 556.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, pag. 331. Cesaes de Empereur Julien.



suum habuisse eloquentiae deum, non Hermetem Graecorum, quoad formam aut aetatem; non Herculem Graecum, ratione corporis staturae, musculorum, et nervorum, sed quoad habitum externum et fortitudinem ingenii, quo respectu Hercules audiat; eum autem nomine Celtico appellari, cui vox Ogmivs in Graeco sermone respondeat, quod fulcatorem sive limitatorem significat, vocem illam Celticam Mercurium esse, quae eundem sensum fundat, et cui prae caeteris gentium diis, tum fulci et viae, tum eloquentia fuerit commendata; caetera quoque ejus nomina Limitatorem designare, Hermetem, Theutum, Theutathem, Terminum, et Caduciferum. Difficile proinde non esse Eloquentiam Ogmio tribuere, quo emblemate in Luciani statua occurrit; eodem emblemate populum dicto ejus obedientem, et ultro sequentem repraesentari; quae si cum epithetis *Ἡγεμονίς*, *Ἐροδῖς*, *Νομῖς*, viaci et limitatoris jungantur, Celtarum ducem, legislatorem, regionis distributorem satis arguant.

LUCIANUS Samosatensis quaestioni locum dedit in opusculo suo<sup>3</sup>, cui titulum dedit Hercules; ibi rationem reddit cur jam natu grandior in eloquentiae studio versetur, quod pro vulgari opinione hominum adolescentium proprium sit; purgat autem se ipsum exemplo Gallorum, qui deum eloquentiae sub imagine hominis decrepiti fingunt. Etenim Lucianus, postquam rei statuariae valedixit, liberalibus econtra operam navasset artibus, in Galliam rhetoricae docendae gratia se contulit, ubi statuam Eloquentiae dicatam vidit, et prout erat vir acutissimi ingenii figuram illam sollicitè perscrutatus, doctorem nactus est e Druidum genere philosophum Gallicum, utraque et Graeca et barbara lingua doctrinaque optime imbutum.

STATUA vero talis fuit ut vir cute rugosa, raro canoque capillitio, habitu Herculis indutus, exuviis leonis, pharetra, clavoque armatus multitudinem hominum post se traheret sponte sequentem, licet tenuibus modo catenulis a lingua ejus proficiscentibus aures eorum essent revinctae; rarum et insolitum videbatur Luciano eloquentiam

<sup>3</sup> Novae Edit. Tom. III. pag. 12. seq.



tali videre adumbratam imagine, edoctus autem a philosopho Gallo gentem suam eloquentiam non Hermeti juveni, ut solent Graeci tribuere, sed Herculi illam assimilare, quoniam is fortior sit, acquievit Lucianus, et jam aetate profectus, et statuæ et doctrinae memor Druidae defendit se adversus irrisores sui, quod aetate ingravescente adhuc dicendi studio operam navet. Scrupulus latet in prima periodo, qua rite deducta patebit veritas. Sic habet: τὸν Ἡρακλέα οἱ Κελτοὶ Ὀγμῖον ὀνομάζουσι φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ. “Herculem “Galli propria sua lingua Ogmium vocant;” quod sic intelligo: Eloquentiae deus, cuius statuam Herculis habitu condecoratam describere animus est, a Celtis appellatur nomine linguae suae proprio, quod philosophus Gallus Graece per Ὀγμῖον reddidit; nec insolitum est ita loquentes audire Graecos; sit exemplo locus Aeliani<sup>4</sup>, ubi sic habet: Ὀχον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ ὄνον ἐκάλεον; “Ochum “regem Aegyptii propria sua lingua vocabant,” voce Aegyptia<sup>5</sup> quae respondet vocabulo Graeco ὄνον<sup>6</sup>; *asinus* enim Aegyptiis non ὄνον sed ὄνον, et ἰω ἰω, vocatur; hanc vero esse genuinam loci, quem explicandum summus interpretationem, ex eo patet, quod ex tota oratione Luciani, ut et philosophi interpretantis, nil aliud legitime concludi possit, quam de deo eloquentiae sermonem esse, non de Hercule Graecorum, neque de illorum Hermete, sed de Gallorum numine Ὀγμῖον. Quid enim Herculi Graeco dissimilius, quam rari canique capilli, rugosa cutis, ut Lucianus ipse fateri cogatur, illum, qui statuam spectaret, quidvis potius quam Herculem ex imagine conjecturum. Philosophi quoque Galli verba satis ostendunt, non esse Herculem, sed diversum Gallorum numen, quod Herculi ob fortitudinem solam assimilent; utitur enim voce εἰκάζομεν<sup>6</sup>. Ora-

<sup>4</sup> Var. Hist. liv. iv. cap. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Vers. Copt. Genes. xx. 3, 5. Exod. xxiii. 12. et cum Art. Masc. πῖ occurrit in Scala Kirch. 166. πῖω quod vertit الحمار.

<sup>6</sup> Τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς οἱ Κέλται ἔχ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, Ἡρμῆν οἰόμεθα εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν εἰκάζομεν.



tionem, inquit, non ut vos Graeci Hermeti tribuimus, sed Herculi eam assimilamus, quod fortior sit; Ogmivs ergo non est Hermes<sup>7</sup> Graecorum, quoad ejus juventutem, figuram, reliquumque ornatum, nec Hercules Graecus, quoad corporis temperamentum, sed assimilatur illi per externa Herculis decoramenta, quae fortitudinis sunt emblemata, ut eloquentiae vis appareat; Galli<sup>8</sup> autem, haud diffiteor, nonnisi post diversas in Graeciam migrationes et reditus, artem pingendi, statuariam, et litteras, edidicerunt, ac Luciani tempore leges, ritus, numina quoque Romanorum cum lingua cognoverunt, sed avitae tenaces religionis gentis suae deos ad Graecorum Romanorumque statuas conformarunt, quorum artifices multis inde a seculis in efformando deorum ornatu Gallos, bello potius, quam pacis artibus gloriam quaerentes, multum superaverunt.

CUM igitur Ogmivs noster nec Hermes Graecorum, nec eorum sit Hercules, quorum ille juvenis petasatus, alatis pedibus et caduceo insignis; hic autem lacertosus simul et robustus; quaeritur quis ergo sit Ogmivs? Respondeo: deus est Gallorum, quem ipsi sibi proprium vindicant, Mercurius; is enim non Romanorum vel Graecorum, sed Celtarum deus est; ejusque cultus a Celtis ad varias dimanavit gentes; nimirum cum tot tamque graves habeamus veterum auctoritates, Graecorum philosophiam et fabulas de diis a barbaris duxisse originem, et nominatim a Celticis populis, qualis est auctoritas Diogenis Laertii<sup>9</sup>, Phurnuti<sup>1</sup>, aliorumque. Ad haec gravissimus auctor C. Tacitus<sup>2</sup>, Mercurium Germanorum,

<sup>7</sup> Luciani Dialogus Panis et Merc.

<sup>8</sup> De Massilia cultiff. Galiae oppido, Lucanus:

“ ——— Simulacraque mista deorum.

“ Arte carent, caesique exstant informia truncis.”

Et Div. Chrysost. Serm. xii.

<sup>9</sup> Diog. Laert. in Proemio.

<sup>1</sup> Phurnutus opusc. Myth. pag. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. ix. Mor. Germ. “ Deum maxime Mercurium colunt.”



Caesar<sup>3</sup>, Gallorum Deum praecipue fuisse asserat, infinita quoque ejus monumenta in Celtica reperiantur regione, denique ejus cognomina, ut mox patebit, originis sint Celticae, nemo non sub Ogmii nomine Mercurium agnoscat, praesertim cum demonstravero Ὀσμιον apud Graecos respectu Etymi idem significare ac apud Celtas Mercurius, quod jam mei est instituti.

ὈΓΜΙΟΣ vox Graeca est, quod non solum ex terminatione in *ιος*, sed ex ipsa voce patet. Ὀγμιος<sup>4</sup> enim ab ὄγμῳ<sup>5</sup> derivatur, quod, apud auctores Graecos et veteres lexicographos, Hesychium, Suidam, Damascenum<sup>5</sup>, fulcum et inde limitem denotat, ἡ κατὰ τὸν ἄροτρον τομή. Proinde Ogmios<sup>6</sup> non aliter, quam deus fulcorum, limitum, et viarum, reddi potest; hinc est forsitan, quod etiam Ceres frugum agrorumque dea Ἐποσμῖ<sup>6</sup> dicitur; quod unicuique agrum et annonam custodiat; Ogmios, Hesychio teste, congruit cum voce αὐλαξ<sup>7</sup>, quae simul fulcum et limitem notat<sup>8</sup>; ideo vicinus qui eodem cum alio utitur limite ὀμαῦλαξ<sup>9</sup>, parvi agelli possessor ὀλιγαῦλαξ<sup>1</sup>, et fulcus vel limes aquaticus, qui agrum terminat, ὀδραῦλαξ<sup>2</sup> dicitur; nec mirum, cum vix alia ratione commodius possint notari limites quam fulco, qua voce Latini promiscue utuntur, pro fulco, id est, limite, inquit Arnobius, forum litibus terrent. Sulco limitabant domos; Virgilius, Aenid. l. i.

“Pars aptare locum tecto, et concludere fulco.”

Limitabant urbes; Virgilius:

<sup>3</sup> Caesar B. G. vi. 16. “Deum Maxime Mercurium colunt, ejus sunt plurima simulacra.—Hunc viarum et itinerum ducem.”

<sup>4</sup> Ὀγμῳ pro via est apud Nicandrum in Theriaca.

<sup>5</sup> Damascenus Lexicog. ineditus, cujus MS. servat. in Bib. Pub. Bernensi.

<sup>6</sup> Thocritus, Idyl. lib. x. ver. 2. οὔτε τ' ὄσμιν ἄγειν ὄρθον δύνα, “neque fulcum ducere rectum potes.”

<sup>7</sup> Ὀγμους τοὺς αὐλακας διὰ τὸ ὄσμους εἶναι.

<sup>8</sup> Eustathius.

<sup>9</sup> Apollon.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> Budaeus.

“ ——— Ipse humili designat moenia fossa.”

Ideo porta a portando aratro, ne fiat fulcus, ubi porta erat.

Limitabant agros: Virgilius, Georg. i.

“ Ante Jovem nulli subigebant arva coloni,

“ Nec signare quidem aut partiri limite campos

“ Fas erat.”

SI coloniae in novas sedes erant deductae, nummus coloniae aratorem cum duobus bobus junctis habet, quod agri erant distincti.

IN fulcis defixi erant lapides, five etiam stipites, qui magna colebantur ceremonia. Propertius, lib. i. eleg. 4.

“ Nullas illa suis contemnet fletibus aras,

“ Et quicumque facer, qualis ubique, lapis.”

Lapis iste Index vocabatur:

“ ——— perjuraque pectora vertit

“ In durum filicem, qui nunc quoque dicitur Index.”

INDICE opus non erat, si fulcus aratro ductus satis erat profundus; acervos tantum lapidum ex agro in fulcum conjiciebant, qui cum porca limitem satis distinguebant. Hos monticulos terrae Graeci γρομῶς, Latini Grumos, forte ab Hebraeo *geramim* גֶּרָמִים, *fastigium*, vocant; unde vox Gallica Grumele monticulatum orta est. Celtæ autem et fossam et grumum *fure* vel *furche* nominabant, Angli *furrow*, Latini *porcam*, quae deducenda videntur ab Hebreo פָּרַק *paeraek*, a פָּרַק *parak*, *fregit*, unde Germanicum *Brachen*, *rumpere*, quod de aranda terra, non vero feminanda usurpatur.

AD vocem ὀγμα revertor, quae cum voce Celtica *og* convenire videtur, quanquam Graeca sit; Latini *occare* dicunt, quod Celtæ *egen*<sup>3</sup>, id est, complanare fulcos, porcas conterere, et instrumentum quo utuntur agricolae ad id peragendum, nempe *occa*, Graecis

<sup>3</sup> Pezron, Antiq. Celt.



ὄξινα<sup>4</sup>, Cambris *og*, a Boxhornio ad voces refertur Celticas; Britannis *og*, Germanis *ege* dicitur; hinc oritur suspicio, occatorem deum ab Ogmio non multum differre. Hujus meminit Varro, et Servius in versum 1. Virgilii Georg. I.

“Diique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri.”

Occator ergo, sive fulcorum tutor in numero agri custodum ponitur, qualis est ὄγμιος.

NUNC ordo dissertationis nostrae postulat, ut ad vocem Mercurii transeamus, probando, hanc esse vocem illam Celticam, quam philosophus Gallicus Luciano per illam Ogmii reddidit.

MERCURIUS Celtis *Mercher* dictus est, omissa terminatione Latina in *ius*, et *u* in *e* semimutuum mutando, ut in caeteris vocibus Celticis fieri solet, quae in *er* definunt; talis est Soldurius<sup>5</sup>, miles mercede conductus, quem Celtae *solder* dixerunt, securus, tutus, Celtis *sicher*; ita Mercurius Celtis *Mercher*<sup>6</sup>; Latini plerumque *er* in *ur*, Galli hodierni in *eur* terminant. Significat autem *Mercher* auctorem fulci et limitis, siquidem *mark*, Cambris, Anglo-Saxonibus, Germanis, Gothis, signum, et in specie limitem, denotat, quod Galli *marque*, *marche*, Hispani et Itali *marca*, Sarmatae veteres *march*, Persae *marza* pronuntiant. Ita Angli *a mark* dicunt, signum insigne, notam, figillum, stigma, *a mark or limit of land*; inde verbum *marquer* Gallicum, *merken* Germanicum, *marking* Anglicum notare, et in specie *marchen*<sup>7</sup> limitare significat; hinc custodes limitum Barbaro-Latinis *marchiones*, Gallis *marquis*<sup>8</sup>, Germanis *marchgraf*, Graecis recentioribus *μαρκέσι*<sup>9</sup> et *λιθηνάρχης* vocantur; Franci enim, ut optime Vadianus, Romanos imitati extremis devictarum

<sup>4</sup> Wachter. Glossar.

<sup>5</sup> Caesar l. iii. B. G. Devoti, quos illi Soldurios appellant.

<sup>6</sup> Boxhorn, Lexic. Ant. Brit.

<sup>7</sup> Rerum Alem. Tom. III.

<sup>8</sup> Aventini Annales Boii, l. vi.

<sup>9</sup> Selden's Titles of Honor, pag. 420.

gentium finibus viros illustres, et rei militaris peritos imponebant ad coercendas finitimorum incursiones, qui deinde a marca limite marchiones vocati sunt. Haec cum ita sint, quis non videt Mercurium Celticam esse vocem, et limitatorem denotare? Quem Galli a voce *marche* vel *marque* Marqueur, Germani a *mark* Merker vocare possent, et hi revera vocant. Quod si nunc ab Hispanis et Anglo-Saxonibus ad Gallos et Germanos, porro ad Gothos, Sarmatas, Persas retrogradiendo linguas Orientis tanquam primigenias investigare liceret, Arabum مرع et مرغ *maraga* et *maracha*<sup>1</sup>, et Hebraeorum מרקחה *merkata*, quorum illud oleo perfudit, hoc quoque unctionem notat, Celticae vocis originem primam exprimere posset; signum enim et limes non est signum nisi ad id constitutum sacratumque sit, idcirco veteres non modo personas ad officia designatas, sed res quoque vita carentes oleo perunxere, ut tanquam signa ab hominibus agnoscerentur. Unxerunt ergo lapides terminales, ut ex Apuleio, Clemente Alexandrino, et ex aliis patet, inter quos Sículus Flaccus<sup>2</sup> terminorum unctionem ita describit: Cum terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram collocabant, proxime ea loca, quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibusque et coronis coronabant<sup>3</sup>. Terminum ideo λιπαρὸν vocabant; lapis ergo, ni fuerit unctus, sacer non erat, sed communis<sup>4</sup>; at sacer erat terminalis, ideo Seneca Tragicus:

“ ——— Nullus in campo sacer

“ Divisit agros arbiter populi lapis.”

Nec dubito Latinos quoque ab oblinendo lapide Limitem, quasi Linimitem, per Crasin dixisse; quemadmodum vox *mark* apud Celtas alio significato pinguedinem, alio limitem denotat, quoniam limes

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Gieuhari et Ibn. Maruph.

<sup>2</sup> De Condit. Agrorum.

<sup>3</sup> Apuleius in Apol. “Lapidem unctum in finibus.”

<sup>4</sup> Clem. Alex. Str. vii, et Theophr. de Superst. cap. xvi.



non erat, nisi pinguedine fuerit delibutus. Pari ratione olim Celtæ et hodiernum Germani, signum, notam, monumentum, vocarunt *mal*, *merk-mal*, *denk-mal*, *wund-mal*, a pingendo vel unguendo lapide vel ligno; unctio vero lapidum ex antiquitate remotissima petenda est, cujus vestigium occurrit Genes. xxviii. ver. 18, 19. scil. "Jacob erexit stelam, et fudit oleum desuper, et vocavit nomen " loci Bethel."

Ex dictis jam liquet vocem *mark* in linguis antiquissimis unctum aliquid denotare, inde ad gentes Europæas dimanasse, veteribus Celtis unctionem et limitem, ejus derivativum *merker* virum limitaneum significasse, et in hunc usque diem diversis Europæ populis adhuc significare, exinde Romanos pro genio linguae suæ fecisse Mercurium. Hic in parodo licet explicare vocem Germanicam *granze*, quæ terminum denotat. Miror neminem observasse a vetusta consuetudine coronandi terminos illam fuisse natam; obvium est apud veteres auctores terminos fertis et coronis decoratos fuisse. Ideo Ovidius, Fast. ii.

" Te duo diversa domini de parte coronant,  
" Binaque ferta tibi, binaque liba ferunt."

Et Prudentius, contra Simmachum, lib. ii.

" ——— Et lapis illic  
" Si stetit antiquus, quem cingere fueverat error."

Ita et Tibullus, lib. I. eleg. i.

" Nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agro,  
" Seu vetus in trivio florida ferta lapis."

RUTILIUS<sup>5</sup> terminos quoque in aqua constitutos coronatos fuisse docet. De proræ custode ita inquit :

" Incertus gemina discriminat arbore fauces,  
" Defixasque aufert limes uterque fudes.

<sup>4</sup> Itin. I. 459.

" Illis

“ Illis proceras mos est adnectere lauros,

“ Conspicuasque ramis et fruticante coma.”

GRANZE ergo dicuntur, quasi Kranze, quod Celtis ferta et coronas notabat, et Graeci κράνϑ *galeam*, et quodcunque caput cingebat, Latini *coronam* dixerunt, utrique coronidem terminum et rei extremum vocabant, unde loquendi formula <sup>6</sup>, κρῶνις τῇ βίῃ et ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέχρι τῆς κρῶνιδϑ. Plura adhuc vestigia vocis *Marcha* five termini habemus. In confinio Galliae et Germaniae oppida exstant *Marcodurum*, et *Marcomagus*, sunt praeterea *Marcomanni*, viri limitanei; porro determinatum spatium agri Germani *morgen*, a *march*; Graeci μόρην vel μόρηνιον appellant; eodem sensu quo Galli *arpend* dicunt a Celtico *arren*<sup>7</sup>, Latino *arare*, et *pen* seu *bahn* terminus; item *margo*, terminus et rei extremum<sup>8</sup>, quod saepius de limine aquatico fumitur; Plinius<sup>8</sup> marginem imperii dicit, quae *Rhenus* alluit, quod et ipsum a *marcha* limite ortum est.

VIDIMUS hucusque *Mercurium* in lingua Celtica deum terminorum, limitum, et viarum, denotare, talem quoque a veteribus agnitum; cum vero superius demonstratum fuerit, vocem ὄσμιον in Graeca lingua eundem sensum fundere, fatis liquet, ὄσμιον Luciani esse *Mercurium* Celticum, tamen non abs re erit ad caetera *Mercurii* cognomina progredi, probando etiam illa deum terminorum indigitare. Horum numero est cognomen *Thaut* five *Theut*, quod et ipsum viam et limitem in lingua Celtica significat, probante *Camdeno* et *Boxhornio* de vocibus *theut*, et *thait*; quin imo *dutt* vetustae originis signum est, quare hodiernum verbum *deuten* Germanis significare audit. Graecis τεῦσμα monumentum et signum ad viam est, viae vero plerumque limitibus inserviunt *Mercurio* sacrae. Utrumque significatum viae et limitis vox Celtica *bahn* habuit, et hodiernum

<sup>6</sup> Max. Tyrius.

<sup>7</sup> Graece ἀρῆν,

<sup>8</sup> Wachter Gloss. v. BANNEN.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. xii. cap. 20.



apud Germanos habet; Galli inde sumserunt vocem *bannir*, *limites* mittere.

A VERO non abludit Theuti dei Egyptii nomen et cultum per colonias ad Gallos pervenisse; in lingua Coptica ⲑⲟⲩⲧ notat stelam, Mercurialem in via constitutum lapidem, columnam, quales Aegyptios in Mercurii sui honorem erexisse nemo ignorat. Hujus vocis Theut vestigia inveni apud agricolas Helvetiorum, cum pluribus quae Celticissimum veterem, imo ipsos redolent proavos Celtarum Aegyptios; utuntur illi hac voce ad denotandum locum agri, ubi termini fuerunt collocati; superest enim in agri extremitate spatium, ubi ductus aratri cessat in versura ejus, quod non aratur, sed viae inservit inter vicinos agros; termini vero in principio extremi fulci disponuntur; spatium illud vocant *an thaut*, id est, *ad thautum*, ad limitem, cujus denominationis rationem agricolae reddere nequeunt, quia thautum ignorant.

DISTINCTIO terminorum respectu loci apud veteres in vulgus nota est. A Septentrione ad Meridiem cardo, ab Oriente ad Occidentem decumanae vocantur, circa quorum etymon Varro aliique veterum valde se torserunt, quia linguam ignorarunt Celticam et Orientis. Cardo <sup>1</sup> contracte est *cherrad*, id est, versura aratri. *Cher* et *cheran* est vox antiquissima, unde Latini gyrare, et Graeci γυρᾶν dicunt; *rad* vero Celtis est *rota* et *aratrum*; conferatur Chaldaicum ܪܕܐ *redah*, *arare*; Galli <sup>2</sup> aratrum *charrue*, quasi *charroue* vocant. Non aliunde Graeci suas χερᾶδας quam a Celtica voce sumserunt. χερᾶδες autem limites et terminos significant. Hinc illud Sapphicum, μὴ κίβει χερᾶδας, *ne dimove terminos*; quod praeceptum Chaldaei, Num. xvi. ver. 13. ita reddunt non mutabis ܬܩܡܐ <sup>3</sup> *tekuma*, terminum proximi tui, quem determinarunt majores tui; habes alterum

<sup>1</sup> Ita etiam in lingua Armenica occurrit vox *karz*, quae currum notat. Junius Observ. ad Willeram.

<sup>2</sup> Quintilian. II. 5. "Plurima Gallica valere, ut Rheda et Petoritum quoque."

<sup>3</sup> Dubito an conferendae voces Arab. ٤٢٠ *tachuma*, terminavit; *tachmon*, terminus; et ٤٢١ *tachumaton*, limes pagi.

limitis *tecbuma*, unde *decumana*. Possset forte huc trahi Graecorum *τέκμαρ*, quod Pindaro signum, item *τέκμαρ* Homero signum et terminum denotat.

DE cognomine Theut hoc unum observabimus, Graecis eundem sensum fundere; siquidem Suidas *τευθὴν* indicem et exploratorem reddat; etenim index terminalis non modo finibus distinguendis inservit, sed numine quodam, Mercurii nempe, veteribus gaudere creditus est, qui fines exploret atque custodiat. Hinc Ovidius terminum ita alloquitur, Fast. ii.

“ Termine, five Lapis, five es defossus in agro

“ Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque numen habes.”

A THEUTO Theutones dicuntur veteres Germanorum populi; et secundum terminationem Celticam Theutisci, hodie Teutsche; Servio Theotisci; unde patet Theuisconem vel Tutisconem eundem esse cum Theuto et Dite communi Gallorum Germanorumque patre; de quo Caesar <sup>4</sup> haec memoriae prodidit; Gallos se omnes à Dite patre prognatos praedicare, idque a Druidibus proditum dicere, quem defunctum tanquam familiae patrem, utrique populi Germani sub nomine Thuiskonis, Galli sub nomine Ditis honorarunt, statuasque in lucis erexerunt. Cum Caesare Tacitus <sup>5</sup> conferendus, cujus haec sunt verba: “ celebrant carminibus antiquis Thuiskonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque;” inde liquet cur Mercurius quoque Theutates <sup>6</sup> dictus fuerit, nimirum per auctorem cognominis vocis *att*, quae patrem significat; Helvetiorum ruricolae non aliter patrem, quam vocibus *att*<sup>7</sup>, *atten*, et

<sup>4</sup> L. vi. De B. Gall.

<sup>5</sup> De Mor. Germ. cap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Lucanus et Lactant. lib. i.

<sup>7</sup> Non multum abludit Aegyptium *ⲓⲱⲧ* *ict*; *pater*; vocalium permutatio Aegyptiis et Celtis frequentissima cum art. masc. *ϕⲓⲱⲧ* *phi-ot*, in Scala Kircheri. vers. per *ⲓⲱⲧ*. pag. 81.



*atte*, solent appellare, quo nomine etiam senem quemlibet insigniunt. Latini, teste Festo, reverentiae gratia cuilibet aetate profecto *atta* dicunt, unde avi pater atavus audit; constat proinde Theutatem idem esse ac patrem Theutum, aut patrem limitum.

HERMES est aliud Mercurii cognomentum, quo Graeci utuntur; Graecae tamen originis esse vix mihi persuadere possum, cum potius sit Celticae, e quorum finibus Mercurii fama ad Graecos transiit. Ἑρμῆς initio Ἑρμῆω dictus videtur, quod ex verbo ἑρμηνεύω ubi littera *n* superstes est, satis manifeste apparet; sed *her* et *men* dominum et virum terrae apud Celtas denotavit. *Ard*<sup>s</sup>, *erd*, et *berd* antiquis terra dicta fuit; terram, inquit Tacitus<sup>9</sup>, Germani *berdum* nuncupant; soli hodiernum Helvetii terram *berd* cum aspiratione in genere pronuntiant; *man*, *men*, et *min*, vir praestans et gravissimae auctoritatis est. Hujus nostrae opinionis argumenta sat ponderosa adducere possumus e sequentibus Mercurii apud Graecos et Celtas nominibus. Quid aliud Graecorum Χθόνιός, quam terrae dominus et deus; ita veteres Mercurium appellarunt, quem Aeschylus in numero terrestrium deorum ponit, in Pers. 630.

Ἄλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες αἰγνοῖ,  
Γῆ τε, καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων.

DICITUR quoque Παραμυδόν, super arenam et pulverem constitutus; quin imo Κτάρης a κτάρω *possideo*; possessionem terrae praeses et auctor. Porro index Mercurialis poetis passim Arbiter vocatur, quae vox peregrinae Celticae nimirum originis est, ab *ar*, terra, et *bieter*, potestate et dominio instructus et iudex; itaque Statius terminum nuncupat.

“ ——— Hinc faxis umbo,

“ Arbiter agricolis finem jacet inter utrumque.”

<sup>s</sup> Hebr. ארץ *terra*.

<sup>9</sup> De Mor. Germ. c. xl.

Et Ovidius de Mercurio, Fast. v.

“Pacis et armorum, superis imisque deorum  
“Arbiter, alato qui pede carpis iter.”

OMNIA haec cognomina Mercurii significationem Celticam Hermetis perfectissime exprimunt, et Mercurium terrae dominum, custodem possessionum, et terminorum auctorem indigitant.

QUIS ergo miretur indices limitum acervosque lapidum ad vias et fulcos, Hermas et Hermulas fuisse dictos? De his Ulpianus Demosthenis Scholiastes: “Hermæ erant stipites aut lapides quadrati, habentes sursum vultum Mercurii.” Item Tzetzes: “Herma “est omnis statua et acervus lapidum”.” Hesychio Ἑρμαῖος λέφθ, Mercurialis acervus dicitur. Quod vero non ad vias modo, sed ad terminos<sup>2</sup> constituendos inservierint, testis est Pausanias; erecti sunt ait, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις lapides Hermæ. Et Frontinus de Colonis: “aliis “locis ager determinatur per muros, Hermulas, &c.” Ab illis Hermulis in fulcis agrorum proculdubio Mures Pontici Germanis Hermelin, et Hermines dicti sunt; quoniam in fulcis agrorum latitant, colore et immutabilitate Hermulis non absimiles; qui, si vera de illis rerum naturalium scriptores prædicant, in extrema angustia si ad lacunofum fulcum steterint, mori quam madefieri malunt; quin et Latini ob similitudinem cum lapide terminali Mustelas appellant; Stelæ vero, Graecis σῆλαι, sunt lapides limitanei.

Hoc unum ad vocem Hermes vel Hermin addimus, deum Terminum a veteribus cultum, ipsum esse Mercurium, ejusque denominationem ab Hermin esse deductam, adjecto articulo T' quasi T'Hermin, qui Celticissimum sapit; et non modo ad Latinos, sed Graecos quoque cum ipsa voce transit, qui palos terminales, vel cancellos, ut Flaccus Siculus eos vocat, τέρμονας dicunt.

Non omni caret veri specie vocem Hermes Aegyptiam esse, et una cum voce Theuti ad Celtas fuisse translata; ut alia ejus rei argu-

<sup>1</sup> Chiliad. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Homeri Odyss. II. ver. 11. et Commentarii Eustathii.



menta taceam, habemus inter nomina regum Aegyptiorum, quae a diis desumpta esse certissimum est, nomina propria Armais et Cherimes, quae ab Hermes nonnisi aspiratione differunt; si vero, quod supra verosimile esse ostendi, vox antiquitus fuerit Hermen, tum deducenda est ab ep vel ap quod facere, dein auctorem rei significat, et a ~~meri~~ quod signum terminumque notat; Mercurius autem Aegyptiis non modo in terra est deus Limitum, verum simul juxta priscam Aegyptiorum religionem etiam in coelo deus fuit Limitaneus, et Horizonta illis significavit.

TANDEM Mercurius Latinis Caducifer dictus est, a caduceo, quem manu gestabat, tanquam signum pacis ad lites dirimendas: hujus vocabuli etymon perperam aliquis in lingua Latina investigabit, ni capillis arreptam vocem in rem suam faciat, quemadmodum nonnulli ad nauseam usque solent.

CADUCEUM<sup>3</sup> vox Celtica est a *cat*, bellum, dissensio; unde Celticae voces *cateia*, telum bellicum, item *caterua*; et *ducken*<sup>4</sup> premere, opprimere; Caduceum<sup>5</sup> igitur dicitur, quod litibus sedandis inserviat, et ipsa figura illiusque usus ex Graecorum<sup>6</sup> tabulis id satis probat. Quis non videt baculum vel telum, uti in nummo<sup>7</sup> M. Antonii exhibetur, terminum repraesentare, qui inter duos serpentes, i. e. de sua possessione litigantes viros<sup>8</sup>, defixus est; “si Simo et Crito vicini,” ut ait Terentius, “de finibus ambigunt, hic arbiter est constitutus”.

DE nominibus Gallici Mercurii satis jam dictum, ut inde solide possimus inferre Ogmion Luciani nomina Mercurii Celtica aptissime

<sup>3</sup> Boxborn. Lex. Ant. Brit.

<sup>4</sup> Vegetius, lib. ii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Virgilius, Aeneid. vii.

“Teutonico ritu soliti torquere Catejas.”

<sup>6</sup> Stadenius, Voc. Bibl. *ducken*, quoque Hebr. דָּכָה et דָּכָה, Arab. دَقَّ.

<sup>7</sup> Du Choul Relig. des A. Rom. pag. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Virgil:

“Saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte jacebat,

“Limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis.”

exprimere,

exprimere, cum omnia deum limitum et viarum designent, qualis Mercurius a veteribus cultus fuit.

CUR autem Ogmivus a Luciano Hercules potius quam Mercurius dictus fuerit, superius diximus; postquam vero vim vocis ejusque sensum explicuimus, demonstrando Ogmivum deum terminorum esse novum suggeritur argumentum, siquidem in ipsis illis statuis terminalibus Mercurius<sup>9</sup> Herculi saepe junctus conspicitur. Hinc in Anthologia Mercurius Herculi junctus viatores ita alloquitur:

Ἄμμες ὄρων φύλακες διασοὶ θεοὶ, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς,  
Οἷον ὄρῃς μ', ἔτος δ' ἄτερ<sup>10</sup> Ἡρακλῆς.

“Nos terminorum custodes duo dii, quorum hic quidem Mercurius, “ut vides me, ille autem Hercules.”

SAEPE quoque in eadem statua fuerunt designati et Hermeracae<sup>11</sup> dicti, superiori parte Hercules, inferiori Mercurius, ut difficile fuerit determinare uter Mercurius, sit an Hercules, praesertim cum Mercurius saepe fuerit Herculis instar barbatus<sup>12</sup>, ut ipse Lucianus auctor est, qui eum σφρηνοπώγωνα appellat, quod barbam in uncum demissam et bifulcam notat.

HAEC quoad primum quaestionis membrum, quis sit Ogmivus; pergo ad alterum, nempe quas ob rationes Galli hunc attributis illis condecoraverint, quae Lucianus refert? Attributa haec sunt emblemata Eloquentiae; Aurēs ad alterius linguam habere devinctas, est ab ejus ore pendere, sermone ejus demulceri, imo, dicto ejus audientem esse; tumultuantem plebem viri praestantis eloquentia ad silentium redactam. Virgilius ita describit, Aeneid. lib. i.

“Tum pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem

“Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.”

<sup>9</sup> Spon. Rech. Cur. d'Antiq. p. cxvii. D. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Tale monum. vides apud illust. Com. de Cailus, Rec. d'Antiq. Tom. I. Pl. lxxxviii. p. 217.

<sup>12</sup> Cicero, Att. i. p. 18. “Signa nostra et Hermeracae, quam commodissime “poteris, velim imponas.”



MERCURIO ante alios eloquentiam<sup>3</sup> tribuere veteres, hinc etiam Ἀργιῶν, Τρῶανός, dictus; ideo illi ab antiquis linguae victimarum<sup>4</sup> oblatae fuerunt; cumque eloquentiae vis tanta sit, ἰσχυρὸς dicitur, et in statua nostra Herculis habitu indutus est.

SED quid est, quod Mercurio Celtarum deo suadelam consecravimus antiquitas? Cur tantam hominum multitudinem secum trahit? Ejus rationem, ratione enim carere nequit, puto apud Celtas quaerendam esse, qui cum nominibus etiam cultum Mercurii induxerunt, hunc arbitramur, primum Gallorum ducem fuisse, qui eos,

“ ——— migrare vetusto

“ De neimore, et proavis habitatas linquere silvas”<sup>5</sup> jussit, non vi et auctoritate, sed facundia<sup>5</sup>, qua gentium duces opus habent; inter quos celeberrimae famae Israelitarum dux Moses, cum natura eloquentiam ei denegasset, facundiam fratris efflagitavit, et disertissimo ejus ore numerosum populum ad novas deduxit sedes. Habemus specialem emblematis rationem, cur Mercurius a veteribus eloquentiae deus fuerit reputatus; quis vero ille fuerit populus, quas sedes reliquerit, meum non est indagare; sufficit ob novas habitationes, sub frigidiorē caelo sitas, postmodum Celtas<sup>6</sup> fuisse vocatos; terminos eorum Diodorus Siculus describit, nempe a Pyrenaeis montibus ad Oceanum, ad Hercynium montem ad Scythas usque; quorum fluvii hiemali tempore fere omnes congelascunt, quorum terra oleum et vinum non producit, homines nativa aetate comas rufas alunt, quos denique Rhēnus et Danuvius allambit. Horum numero ergo sunt omnes populi, qui a Mercurio ejusque

<sup>3</sup> Act. xiv. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Homerus: γλώσσας δ' ὅν περὶ βόλλον.

<sup>5</sup> Horatius, Carm. I. Od. x.

“ Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,

“ Qui ferōs cultus hominum recentum

“ Voce formasti, laetus et decorae

“ More palaestrae.”

<sup>6</sup> Kalt Germ. Angl. Cold, unde Celtae.

filio Manno nomen traxerunt, Theutones, Theutisci, Theutofodiani, Teudneii, Theutoburgii, Hermiones, Hermunduri, Cenomanni, Marcomanni, Alemanni<sup>7</sup>, aliique, qui ducis sui nomen posteritati consecrarunt, et infinita fere monumenta, statuas, acervos lapidum, inscriptiones<sup>8</sup> denique, in memoriam Mercurii a Scythis usque ad Hispaniam<sup>9</sup> reliquere. Stante nostra hypothese ratio datur, quare Mercurius ab antiquis Viacus<sup>1</sup> fuerit appellatus; nimirum quoniam ad regiones incognitas viam docuit; datur etiam ratio, quare Ἡγεμόνιος et ὁδηγός<sup>2</sup> fuerit vocatus, non aliam ob causam, quam quod gentis suae dux erat, itinerum comes.

TANDEM opinio nostra non parum firmatur, eo quod Mercurius limitum deus, et possessionum iudex<sup>3</sup> sit dictus, quae nemini magis quam gentis duci conveniunt, qui coloniis<sup>4</sup> in novas sedes deductis terram distribuit, cujuslibet possessionem terminis designat, tanquam Nōmius jus<sup>5</sup> dicit, et legibus cavet ne quis de fundo suo periclitetur.

HAEC ergo sunt argumenta, quibus sententiam meam de Mercurio tanquam Celtarum duce et conditore stabilire decrevi, quae si non convincant, Tacitus de Tuistone vel Tuiscone audiat; hunc enim Mercurium esse credo; sic autem ille<sup>6</sup>, “celebrant carminibus anti-  
“quis Tuistonem deum terra editum, et filium Mannum, originem  
“gentis conditoremque.”

ET haec de Ogmio deo limitum et viarum, Mercurio Herculis habitu condecorato, sufficere possunt.

<sup>7</sup> De Chaucis. Schildius, lib. ii. 3. de Britannis Camdenus.

<sup>8</sup> De Danis Wormius, Mon. Dan.

<sup>9</sup> De Hispanis Livius, xxvi. 44. “Egressus Scipio in tumulum, quem Mercurii  
“vocant.”

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. vocat ἀγήμενος.

<sup>2</sup> Gruteri Inscr. DEO MER. VIACO. et it. DEO QUI VIAS ET SEMITAS COM-  
MENTVS EST.

<sup>3</sup> Reines. et Append. ad Marm. Oxon. N. iv. pag. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Aristophanes in Plut.

<sup>5</sup> Horat. Ep. ii. i. ver. 6. “—— Deorum in templa recepti,  
“Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella  
“Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt.”

<sup>6</sup> De Mor. Germ. ii.



*L. Observations on the Welsh Castles: By the Honourable  
Daines Barrington, A. S. S. In a Letter to the late  
Lord Bishop of Carlisle.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, January 14, 1768.

MY LORD,

Dec. 29, 1767.

**H**AVING had some conversation with your Lordship last summer with regard to Caerphyli (or Sengenneth Castle), and having afterwards travelled very much, at my leisure, round the sea coast of Wales, I take the liberty of troubling your Lordship with such observations as have occurred to me with relation to these venerable ruins, of which there is such a profusion in the principality.

As these ancient fortresses so particularly claim the attention of the antiquary, it seems rather extraordinary, that we have no better account of the time in which they were first built.

GYRALDUS Cambrensis is well known to have made a progress with Archbishop Baldwine through North and South Wales, in the reign of Henry the second; but he takes no further notice of the castles, than by giving to some of the places through which he passed the title of *Castrum*; the reason for which seems to arise from their having been very insignificant at that time, as I shall endeavour to prove hereafter.

LELAND, indeed, travelled through the principality much later, and had an opportunity of seeing some of these castles more complete than they appear at present; he barely, however, gives us a catalogue of some of them in the different counties; and they seem to have neither struck him as an antiquary, nor as picturesque and venerable objects.

AFTER



AFTER this, we have no writers to consult, except Humphrey Llwyd and Camden. As for the former of these, he is known to have been the translator of Caradoc of Lancarvan, which was certainly his authority for what little he hath said with regard to the Welsh castles; and as the translation, with Dr. Powell's notes, was published before the *Britannia*, Camden may be supposed to have had recourse to this as his chief source.

THIS will bring me hereafter to consider how much Caradoc's account of fortresses which existed soon after the Conquest is to be applied to the remains of those we see at present.

HAVING thus mentioned the only authorities from which any light may be expected upon this subject, I shall now throw together what hath occurred to me, both with regard to the antiquity of the Welsh castles, and the uses for which they were intended.

IN the first place, it seems to be very clear, that none of these fortresses were built by the princes of Wales, as no considerable remains are to be found near any of those places where they are known to have fixed their residence, which they must have consequently endeavoured to have made particularly strong and secure.

THE palace of the Prince of North Wales was at Aberfraw; those of the Princes of Powisland, first at Pengwern, and afterwards at Mathraval.

THAT of the Princes of South Wales was first at Carmarthen, and afterwards at Dinevawr.

Now there are no remains either at Aberfraw, Pengwern, or Mathraval; and as for Carmarthen, Caradoc of Lancarvan informs us, that the Castle was twice destroyed, viz. in 1196, and 1216; Dinevawr castle was also rased in the year 1194. See Powell's *History of Wales*, page 244, 247, and 273.

If it was not for this express mention of Dinevawr's being destroyed, I should be inclined to think, that its present remains might owe their

origin



origin to a Prince of S. Wales, as the castle is very small and inconsiderable; and if any vestiges continue of a fortress built by the Welsh themselves, I should imagine it to be those of Carndochen and Teberry, both in Merionethshire. The first of these is situated five miles S. W. of Bala on a high hill, and out of all track or road, so that it is scarcely known in that neighbourhood.

THE latter lies in a line from Dolgelly to Towen, upon a small eminence which rises in the middle of a valley. I conjecture these to have been built by the Welsh, not only because they are of a very inconsiderable size, but because this county was scarcely ever invaded by the English. They are, therefore, the only castles in it, except Harlech, which from its magnificence is clearly a work of later times.

I SHOULD add to these Castel Dinas-Bran in Denbighshire, was it not so near to the English frontier.

WHOEVER hath seen any of the more considerable castles in Wales, and hath at all reflected upon the state of the principality during the time it was governed by its own Princes, will immediately perceive other most cogent arguments, why the fortresses which remain at this day could scarcely have been built by the Welsh themselves.

CASTLES of any magnitude require money to pay the labourers; skill in masonry at least, if not in architecture; and lastly, a number of hands to complete such a work, none of which requisites were to be found in the principality during that period.

I HAVE never yet heard of a coin in any collection which had the head of a Welsh Prince, or could be considered in any respect as coming from his mint; they, therefore, wanted the very finews of building.

As for skill in masonry, it is much doubted, whether the most expert of them at present can lay the courses of stones so regularly, or hew them so well, as those in many of the ancient castles.

THIS

THIS, however, may be most confidently asserted, that the masons, during the reigns of the Lewellins and Rees's, were as incapable of executing stone work in so masterly a manner, as they would be at present of carving an elegant Corinthian capital. They will be found also to have been still more deficient in regard to the last most material requisite, of a proper number of workmen.

So thinly was the principality inhabited before the time of Edward the first, that the Welsh histories are totally silent with regard to any town in the most populous parts, or even near the residence of their Princes.

THE country was, therefore, not better peopled during this period, than the desarts and wildernesses of America.

To this it may be added, that they could not be assisted in such works by the English or Irish, as they had no trade or intercourse with either of these neighbouring nations. It may be doubted also, whether they had any agriculture.

THE want of inhabitants may be further proved by comparison with the number of people at present in the Welsh counties, which are as much improved in cultivation, as any other parts of the island; at least, I can see no difference, except in the management of their quickset fences, which are not equal to those in most parts of England.

It is unnecessary to say, therefore, that a country which is so much improved in its agriculture, which hath now considerable towns, and also some mines, must at the same time be better peopled; whilst they enjoy likewise in common with England the blessings of the most mild and perfect of governments.

I HAVE taken some pains to ascertain the present number of inhabitants in Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, and Merionethshire: though I cannot pretend to any precision or accuracy in this point, I am persuaded, that the souls (as the writers upon political arithmetic express themselves) of all ages, and both sexes, do not exceed 50,000. The labouring men, consequently, are not above 10,000.



I WILL mention the means which I have used to procure this information, as I know part of what I must state will give infinite satisfaction to your Lordship.

BESIDES inquiries from intelligent persons in different parts of the counties, I have applied to some of the clergy with regard to the number of communicants at the more solemn festivals, the people of the principality punctually attending these, as, indeed, they do every other religious duty.

As the women must be included in this method of numeration, and the age of communicants may in general be supposed the same with that of men capable of bearing arms, viz. from 20 to 60, I should conjecture, that the communicants may amount to two fifths of the number of souls, as the proportion of men between these ages is commonly calculated to be one fifth.

I TAKE the liberty likewise of here mentioning to your Lordship (though it hath no relation to the subject of this letter) that I have been informed there is not a single papist in these three counties, notwithstanding the present alarm with regard to the increase of popery.

HAVING thus endeavoured to shew the probability that the Welsh castles were not built by the princes of that country; I shall hazard a conjecture, that all the more considerable ones were the works of Edward the first; I shall at the same time allow, that perhaps some of the less important ones were fortresses of the Lords Marchers, or grantees of the crown.

WE know with certainty that those of Conway, Beaumaris, and Carnarvon, owe their origin to this king; and, if I am right in what I have supposed, many others are equally to be ascribed to him.

BEFORE his time, the state of both civil and military architecture was at a very low ebb; but it should seem that Edward the first had brought with him from the Crusade plans of fortresses erected by

the

the Christians in that part of Asia, which was then contested with the Mahometans.

DURING the seasons when it was improper to carry on the operations of a campaign, that most numerous army collected from all parts of Europe could have been in no way so well employed, as in raising strong fortifications to protect the Christian frontier [a].

I SUPPOSE that this king had seen such castles in Asia; for I cannot hear on inquiry, that any of the same kind are to be found in other parts of Europe; nor does Pouffin, or the other great painters of landscape, make use of them, though so very picturesque objects.

EDWARD was three years on this Crusade, at a proper age to make remarks of this sort; and no other King of Europe was ever on the same expedition; who had either taste to carry what he had seen into execution, or ever had occasion, or the means, to erect such expensive and magnificent fortresses.

As for Richard the first, his long captivity in his return from the Holy Land prevented his undertaking any works of this kind; besides this, he had not conquered such a country as Wales, which might require fortifications of any consequence.

As for Saint Lewis, though he made a Crusade, yet he seems to have thought of little more than counting his beads, or perhaps seeing the holy sepulchre, in common with the other pilgrims of that time: he died also on the expedition.

[a] Fuller, in his account of the holy wars, expressly mentions the building of many fortifications in Asia by the Christians: “And now the Christians began every where to build (sc. anno 1192); the Templars fortified Gaza; King Richard repaired and walled Ptolemais, Porphyra, Joppa, and Ascalon.” B. iii. c. 2. See also B. iv. c. 8. where elegance in Richard’s buildings in Palestine is also mentioned. Fuller’s authority for this seems to be a Willelmus Tyrensis, who was Treasurer to a subsequent Crusade, and Archbishop of Tyre.



EDWARD the first, however, meant not only to conquer in the cause of Christianity, but to make use of the military knowledge he had acquired during the Crusade, in acquisitions to the crown of England.

As the annexing Wales to the English dominions was deservedly his first and most favourite object, he was determined not only to acquire the principality by his armies led by himself in person, but to secure it by a strong chain of forts.

For this purpose he continued a whole year in North Wales (as Prynne[b] hath irrefragably proved); during which time he must have employed his large army, and numerous garrisons, in carrying on these fortifications, as the principality in its then state of population could not have furnished labourers.

He must likewise have had able engineers with him to execute such plans, as also some master masons from England.

WHEN he had built these magnificent structures, he could not but wish, like most improvers of more modern times, that they should be admired by others: it was for this reason, I am persuaded, he sent for his Queen; I have also little doubt, but that every good English courtier visited the principality, and properly commended the royal architecture.

HAVING thus attempted to shew, that most of the considerable castles of Wales owe their origin to Edward the first; however ignorant I may be of what relates to military operations, I shall, nevertheless, take the liberty of a common traveller, who hath seen almost every one of those fortresses, to make such observations as have occurred to me with regard to the use of them, as also what seems to have fixed most of their situations.

[b] See his *Animadversions on Sir Edward Coke's IVth Inst.* pag. 57.



THE castles upon the more extensive plans are almost universally either upon the sea coast, or not far from the mouths of great rivers, or arms of the sea.

SUCH expensive fortifications secured the landing of English troops, which could not be marched through the inland parts, both from frequent attacks in the passes of the mountains, as also from want of provisions.

THE Kings of England, therefore, when they passed through, or invaded either North or South Wales, always kept near to the sea coast, except in the unfortunate expedition of Henry the second, who attempted to march his army over the Berwin mountains, which was consequently defeated, and nearly destroyed by cold and famine.

WE found, in the late war, the great difficulty and expence of marching four or five thousand men to Lake Champlain or Oswego; and Wales was, perhaps, a still less practicable country, in the 12th or 13th centuries.

THE reason of these castles being sometimes built at small distances seems to be owing to a want of reciprocal assistance in case of an attack by the Welsh, who, having no fleet, could not interrupt the communication by sea.

THUS, for example, the garrisons of Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway, could at any time send supplies of provisions or men by the Menai, to the fortrefs which apprehended an attack.

THE less important castles are to be found generally on the marches which divided England from Wales; and it was not necessary for the English to build them upon so extensive a scale, as assistance was so near at hand in case of an attack. The Welsh likewise were not provided with any military engines, or means of forming a regular siege: it is to the use of formidable battering trains of artillery, that we owe the expensive plans of a Cohorn or a Vauban. The castles of Edward the first were rather  
calculated.



calculated for parade and ornament, than for a necessary security against the enterprizes of such an enemy as the Welsh.

BESIDES these fortresses on the frontier, there are a good number of castles both in Glamorganshire and Pembrokehire, which are neither on the sea coast, nor on the confines of England.

THE first of these were probably built by the descendants of the twelve knights adventurers, who conquered that county under Fitzhammon, in the time of William Rufus.

THOSE in Pembrokehire by the descendants of the Flemings, who were sent there in the reign of Henry the first; I say, by the descendants, because on their first settling there they could not have had a sufficient number of hands to carry on such works. Whatever they might have been when first completed, we find mention in Caradoc's history of most of the castles in both these counties being destroyed.

IT should follow from what I have been thus endeavouring to prove, that the central parts of Wales, being the counties inhabited by the Welsh themselves after the English conquests, should have scarcely any castles at all; if any one, therefore, will draw a line from Cowbridge in Glamorganshire, to Denbigh, he will find this to be the case. I have fixed upon these two towns, as being each of them about ten miles from the sea coast, and lying nearly North and South.

I THINK I could account for almost every castle in each county, upon these principles; but this would lead me to a very tedious enumeration, and I fear that I am already scarcely intelligible without the assistance of a map of the principality.

BUT it may be said, that these conjectures are contrary to the Welsh histories, which mention castles, that were the works of the Welsh and English, before the reign of Edward the first.

THAT such might have been built, there can be no dispute; but if by the Welsh, I am confident, they could have been little more than



than a fortification of fods; or if by the English, previous to that time, they must still have been very inconsiderable. If this kind of military architecture had been brought to any degree of perfection in the reign of Henry the second, would not that king have secured his conquest of Ireland by such fortresses?

I SHALL not here repeat what I have already urged on these two heads; but with regard to the supposition of large castles being built by the English Lord Marchers or adventurers, I must observe, that it was a fundamental rule of policy in the crown of England, not to permit its powerful vassals to erect fortifications of a considerable strength. They were not wanted against the Welsh, and, therefore, could be only used against the crown: I may add also to this, that a Lord Marcher was not equal to the expence.

I MUST likewise observe, that it by no means follows, because Caradoc of Lancarvan mentions a castle having been built before the time of Edward the first, remains of which, bearing the same name, continue at this day, that these are the ruins of that identical one which he gives an account of.

THE fortress may have been so much repaired as to become a new one, or it may have been entirely rebuilt at a small distance. The castles of Flint and Rhydland were thus refortified and augmented by Edward the first.

I PRETEND to no greater knowledge in the Welsh language than having picked up the names of the principal objects that have occurred on the road; I can, however, from the etymology of a word, shew a probable conjecture, that a castle may have changed its situation, though not its name.

IT seems to be generally agreed, that Pengwern, where the Princes of Powisland are said to have had a palace, is the same with Shrewsbury.

Now Pengwern signifies high land, or a promontory which projects into a morass; and this is by no means applicable to the situation of Shrewsbury at present.



BUT there is no occasion to decline the authority of the great Welsh historian; if he raises a castle in one page, he often destroys it in the next; in short, in the early times, they were easily built and easily thrown down. Every page almost of Caradoc's history furnishes proofs of this.

I SHALL, however particularize the instance of Caerphyli castle, as I had the honour of a conversation with your Lordship on this head, which hath, indeed, been the occasion of my troubling you with these observations.

THIS is, perhaps, the most considerable fortress in the principality; and therefore should be, according to what I have already presumed to conjecture,

“ ——— Regis opus,”

and of no other king than the conqueror of Wales.

CARADOC informs us, that Rees Prees rased the castle of Sengenneth in the year 1221; he likewise mentions, that it was re-fortified two years afterwards by John le Bruse [c]. Now I will refer it to any one who hath ever seen these magnificent ruins, whether a Prince of S. Wales could take such a fortress as the remains shew it to have been. I am persuaded he would not have pulled it down even in the compass of two years, as he had neither gunpowder nor battering rams to use against it, which Sir Christopher Wren was obliged to employ in demolishing the old cathedral of Saint Paul's.

MUCH less could a Lord Marcher re-fortify it in that time.

As it is, therefore, clear from Caradoc's authority, that this castle was rased and re-fortified within the compass of two years, during the reign of Henry the third, I conclude that it was a very common and insignificant fortress.

WHEN then could this vast structure be built, but in the reign of Henry's successor? who meant to give South Wales a specimen

[c] See Powel's History of Wales, p. 278 and 271.

of his magnificent architecture, as he had already done in North Wales, by building the castles of Carnarvon, Beaumaris, and Conway [d]

IF it be said, that it cannot be supposed the Welsh history would be silent on this head, my answer is, that Caradoc only mentions this king's having built the castle of Beaumaris, without taking notice of either Carnarvon or Conway, which we know with the greatest certainty to have been works of Edward the first.

I MAY add to this, by way of strengthening the conjecture, that this king once returned from North Wales by the sea coast through South Wales, and proceeded thence to Bristol, though I cannot immediately recollect the authority which I can refer to for this.

IT is, therefore, highly probable, that in this progress he might pass the Taf at a ford near Caerphily (as I conclude there was then no bridge or ferry at Cardyf), and might at the same time have fixed the situation of that castle, the ruins of which are still so magnificent and stupendous.

BUT it may possibly be urged, that some of these considerable fortresses were built by the successors of Edward the first; to which I answer, that the Kings of England seem to have paid very little attention of any kind to the principality after its conquest, till the reign of Henry the eighth: Dr. Powel's continuation of its history till that period does not fill above twenty pages.

[d] “ So well founded is the conjecture, that Edward the first built what now  
“ remains of the present castle of Caerphily, that Mr. Miller of Warwickshire,  
“ one of the best architects and antiquaries now living, pronounced it the work of  
“ that Prince several years ago, before it was known that Caerphily and Sengen-  
“ neth were the same, and when this vast structure was generally esteemed a Roman  
“ work.”

The late Bishop of Carlisle was so obliging as to add this confirmation of my conjectures since the letter had the honour of being communicated to the Society of Antiquaries.



SOME antiquaries have likewise attributed many of these structures to the Romans.

WITH regard to this supposition, it may be said, that such castles might chiefly have been expected near Chester and Caerleon, as those were the most fixed and eminent stations for the Roman legions.

Now I cannot observe, that any of the fortresses, near either of these places, differ materially in their architecture from those which are known to be the works of much later times. If any considerable castles likewise in Great Britain had been the works of the Romans, we must undoubtedly have found some remains of them at proper intervals near Severus's wall; but I never happened to hear of such.

BESIDES this, it must be considered, that the Roman garrisons both in Germany and Gaul were precisely in the same situation that they were in England, being equally surrounded by the natives, who occasionally rose against them.

Now I have often inquired from travellers, whether they had ever seen in France or Germany castles like those in Wales, and have always been answered in the negative.

It is undoubtedly true, however, that the Romans raised *φρουρα* (generally translated Castles) in almost every part of their empire, against the incursions of the barbarians.

PROCOPIUS hath a particular treatise "*De Aedificiis Justiniani*," and enumerates upwards of 500.

As there are no remains of these fortresses, it should seem, that when the Romans built a temple or amphitheatre, they not only considered magnificence but duration; any hasty fortification was, however, deemed sufficient against barbarians, and therefore we have no traces of them at present.

IT

It is high time, however, that I should release your Lordship from this tedious length of letter, and subscribe myself

Your Lordship's

Most faithful humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. It may, perhaps, surprize your Lordship, who are so conversant in every thing which relates to British antiquities, that I have not taken any notice of the remains of that magnificent castle called Braich y Dhinias, said to be on the top of Penmanmawr.

As this is mentioned in the additions to Bishop Gibson's translation of the Britannia, I have frequently made inquiries concerning it; and have always been answered, that there are no traces of any such structure.

I REMEMBER particularly to have desired my brother Dr. Barrington, and Mr. Holland of Conway, who went to the top of this mountain some years ago in search of plants, to observe whether there were any such remains. They could find, however, neither castle nor plant; nor any thing the least remarkable, except a common *carnedd* or heap of stones.

ANOTHER supposed wonder of this mountain I must beg leave to contradict on my own knowledge. It is universally believed in that neighbourhood, that wild lemons grow near the summit of Penmanmawr. I once happened to procure a branch of this extraordinary shrub, and it turned out to be the "*Sorbus Sylvestris*," or quick beam tree of Gerard, which is not very uncommon in mountainous countries; the fruit, indeed, somewhat resembles a young and unripe lemon.



LI. *An Account of some Remains of Roman and other Antiquities, in and near the City of Brecknock, in South Wales: By John Strange, Esquire. In a Letter to the President, Council, and Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, April 13 and 20, 1796.

IT seems at present generally received among the learned, that the principality of Wales supplies very few remains of Roman antiquities. Some of the inscriptions collected by Camden have scarcely been admitted as genuine by succeeding antiquaries. Upon considering, however, that the second Augustan legion had indisputably their head-quarters at *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire; that there were other Roman stations (as *Maridunum*, *Luentium*, and *Segontium*) in the more remote parts of the country; and that the eleventh and twelfth Iter in the Itinerary of Antoninus skirted the North and East sides of it; I was hence persuaded, that the intermediate provinces might afford more traces of the Romans than have hitherto been observed; and a late tour through Wales gave me an opportunity of making some enquiries relative to this subject. Little new may, perhaps, be expected after such distinguished writers as Leland, Camden, and the ingenious author of the *Archaeologia*. But as the former only proposed an Itinerary through the country; as it does not appear that Camden visited every part himself; and as Lhwyd sometimes depended on the relations of others; sufficient scope yet remains for the researches of the inquisitive. As, therefore, these researches formed one principal object of my tour, I esteem myself

myself obliged to communicate the fruits of them to the judgment of this learned Society; and have endeavoured to merit their indulgence, by confining myself to a mere narration of facts.

FROM the evidence of Roman coins frequently found in and about the town of Brecknock, Camden was of opinion, that this country was inhabited in the time of the Romans[a]. Lhwyd's further enquiries confirmed that opinion, for he particularly informs us of a Roman brick, stamp LEG. II. AVG. dug up near Brecknock, and of a square camp at a place called *The Gaer* about three miles from the town. But as he only slightly mentions this camp, and is mistaken in some particulars relating to it, I shall endeavour to supply his omissions, by giving a more exact account of a place which I think not undeserving the attention of a curious traveller.— It is superfluous to remark, that the very name of *The Gaer* is a sufficient proof of its antiquity; the word itself importing a *round wall* or *fortification*, and most of the places in that country, where such works have been made, retain this name even at present. But *The Gaer* near Brecknock seems to have been so called by way of distinction, as being the most considerable fortification in that part of the country. As bricks with the aforefaid inscription upon them are frequently found upon the very spot, and considerable ruins of a Roman wall are still remaining, it is probable that a detachment of the second Britannick legion, from Caerleon in Monmouthshire, was stationed at this place. These bricks even now are so common, that a servant in the family at *The Gaer* found one for me upon a day's notice, which measured 8 inches square, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  thick, and is stamp nearly in the middle in the same form with those dug up at Caerleon. Since my return to London, I have been apprised by Thomas Jones, esquire, of the Exchequer, that other Roman bricks have been dug up in the area of this camp, of an

[a] Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, Vol. II. pag. 705.

oblong



oblong square form, and with the same inscription LEG. II. AVG. stamp'd across one of the corners [b]. Mr. Jones saw one dug up at *The Gaer* about five years since; and likewise assures me, that several of the same kind were found at this place some years before.

BUT to bring those remains of antiquity more immediately under your notice, let me observe, that the place now called *The Gaer* is a small farm belonging to the widow of David Williams, Esquire, about three miles North-west from *Brecknock*; within half a mile of the farm house, the present road from *Brecknock* joins an old Roman causeway; which, though much broken and over-run with bushes, is still very discernible. It was originally a raised way near forty feet wide, and seems to have been chiefly made with large round pebbles of various sizes, collected probably from the bed of a neighbouring river. This causeway runs in a direction nearly at right angles with the *Eskir*, a small brook which joins the river *Uſk* just below *The Gaer*. I could find no traces of it on the other side of the *Eskir*, nor signs of a Roman road any where in that neighbourhood, except near *Rhyd y Briw* bridge about seven miles from *Brecknock* in the road to Trecaſtle, where there are very visible remains of one, which will be mentioned in a subsequent part of this letter. The causeway at *The Gaer* seems then to have conducted only to this station, and was, in all probability, a branch of the great Roman causeway leading from *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire through the vale of *Uſk* and the Eastern part of Brecknockshire to *Ariconium*, which is the 12th Iter in Antoninus's Itinerary. In the middle of this causeway, about a quarter of a mile short of the farm house, is the monumental stone described and engraved by Mr. Lhwyd [c]. It is called *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden stone, from a tradition prevailing among the common people in the neigh-

[b] See Plate, Fig. i.

[c] Gibson's Camden's Britannia, Vol. II. pag. 834. Fig. VI.

bourhood,





1



2







bourhood, that it was erected to the memory of two virgins who were murdered there. It formerly lay by the road side, but was set up in the place where it now stands a few years ago, and is about six feet high from the ground, and three and a half wide. Mr. Lhwyd gives it only two feet in width, and doubts whether it be British or Roman. The bas relief upon it, representing probably a soldier and his wife (rude as it is), seems clearly of Roman sculpture. Had we, indeed, no other proof, there is such a precision in all their works, even of the most barbarous ages, as sufficiently distinguishes them from the unmeaning strokes of Gothicism. But there is likewise an actual inscription in good Roman Characters upon the stone itself under the figures, not mentioned by Mr. Lhwyd; which, though in great measure effaced by time, yet manifestly appears to have consisted of four lines in a regular compartment; and the word CONIVNX, which begins the last line, with several other letters, is still plainly legible. *Mrs. Williams*, the present owner of *The Gaer*, who has lived there about forty years, assured, that the whole inscription has been legible within her memory. As the afore said engraving of this stone by Mr. Lhwyd is not by any means a just representation of it, I have furnished [d] another from a drawing made upon the spot, and obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Serjeant Whitaker. The figures in bas relief upon this stone are three feet and a half high, and the area on which they are wrought is in some places two or three inches below the surface of the upper and lower part of the stone, which Mr. Lhwyd has taken notice of, and which, indeed, is not uncommon in bas reliefs of the latter Roman empire.

THE situation of the camp at *The Gaer* agrees entirely with the practice commonly observed by the Romans in fixing their stations; for it is on a rising ground, near the confluence of two rivers. We know likewise, from many of the stations *per lineam*

[d] See Plate, Fig. II.



valli and elsewhere, that the Romans were particularly fond of chusing the *lingula* or angle between two rivers, as by that means they saved the trouble of other fortifications. If any accidental circumstance of situation rendered that spot disadvantageous, another was chosen; and as, in the present case, the angle between the *Uſk* and the *Eſkir* lay in a bottom, the Romans fixed upon a small eminence gradually riſing from the North Eaſt bank of the latter, from whence they commanded an extenſive view of the vale of *Uſk* between *Brecknock* and Trecaſtle. As to the camp itſelf, it is a parallelogram of 624 feet by 456, the longeſt parallels pointing nearly South and North. The foundation of the wall which bounds this area remains entire; and even the ruins of it above ground are, in ſome places (particularly on the North and Eaſt ſides), from three to fix feet high, and part of the facing is ſtill perfect. This conſiſts of ſquared ſtones of about twelve inches dimenſion, the middle being filled up with rubble and the whole thickneſs of the wall is nearly ſeven feet and half. It is in every reſpect ſimilar to the remains of the walls of *Caerleon* and *Caerwent* in Monmouthſhire. The farm houſe and offices at *The Gaer* are built in the North Weſt angle of this camp, and chiefly from the ruins of the ſaid wall. After repeated ſearches, I could find no ſigns of any inſcription either on the ſtones uſed in the farm houſe and buildings, or upon thoſe which lay looſe in the yard and fields. I obſerved no mark of the chiſel, except on part of the baſe of a ſmall pedeſtal, which I found by the hedge ſide within the walls, and a large piece of ſtone that ſeemed to have been the ſquared member of a building, lying on the cauſeway not far from the farm houſe. I was, however, upon inquiry, aſſured, that many fragments of figured ſtones, urns with aſhes in them, braſs and ſilver coins, had been found at different times within the walls of the camp; and likewiſe, when this piece of ground was laſt ploughed, that ſome traces of a kind of brick drain were diſcovered, made of ſemicircular tiles of about an inch thick.

thick. Whether this might have served as a water-duct, or a kind of subterraneous funnel for the communication of heat, agreeably to what is supposed of the like remains at Stunfield in Oxfordshire, I cannot determine. This spot was fallow last season, and is one of the home fields of the farm; the foundation of the old wall, with the bushes which overrun them, serving to fence it from the adjacent lands. I must not omit to observe, that about a mile from this place, and two miles nearly North West from Brecknock, on the summit of a high hill, are the remains of a very large British camp, called *Pen y Crug*, which signifies the *chief heap* or *barrow*, forming an oval figure surrounded by three very deep and broad intrenchments. Neither Leland, Camden, nor Lhwyd, take any notice of it; which is the more surprising, as it appears to be one of the most curious and best-preserved remains of that kind throughout the whole principality.

DURING my stay in Brecknockshire, I made an excursion to *Yniskedwin* in the vale of Tawy and on the confines of Glamorganshire, in order to examine the tract of the mountainous country which forms the boundary of those two counties. Returning from thence by *Ustradvelty* and Merthyr Tudvell to *Brecknock* about a mile beyond Capel Coelbryn, I fell in with some very considerable remains of a Roman causeway, which, so far as I recollect, is not observed by any writer, though it continues uninterrupted for a mile, at least, in a very open country, and is seen from all quarters to the distance of two or three miles. If *Sarn Elen*, or Helen's causeway, which is said to have led from *Carnarvon* to *Salisbury* in Wiltshire, crossed Brecknockshire into Glamorganshire, these remains must certainly have been a part of it; but as it is supposed by most antiquaries to have taken its course through Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, it seems very improbable, that any part of it should lie in so remote a corner; unless it made a circuit, striking off in a South East direction from Merionethshire (where there are



South and East sides, though naturally weak, are strengthened by a deep and wide trench cut in the solid rock. The area on which the main body of the castle was built within this trench forms a kind of irregular pentagon; outside of the trench are the foundations of several walls of about three feet and a half thick, intersecting each other in various directions, and forming a kind of outwork. The whole remains within and without the trench include, at least, an acre of ground. From the appearance which the ruins of this castle make at present, one might, upon a cursory view, scarcely imagine that any part of it continues entire. But on going through a narrow subterraneous passage, which I discovered among the ruins, it conducted me into a circular Gothic room still in perfect preservation, and measuring about thirty feet in diameter. The sides are adorned with twelve flat arches, in which the doors and windows were placed; and a central pillar supports the roof in the same manner as in the circular Gothic room at Margarn in this same county, which it likewise perfectly resembles in its ornaments and style of architecture. This room, which is one of the greatest curiosities on this side of the country, is so buried by the ruins of other parts of the castle which have fallen about it, that there is scarce any appearance of it above ground, chance alone leading me to the discovery.—But to return to our Roman antiquities.

SOME antiquaries have been of opinion, that Buahlt, a small market town on the West bank of the river *Wye*, was the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy; but I could not find, upon the strictest inquiry, that any Roman coins, bricks, or other remains of antiquity, had ever been found in that neighbourhood; and since the town of Buahlt is situated in a small tract of valley or bottom, surrounded on all sides by a very high range of mountains, had the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy been situated in any part of this vale, some relics of antiquity could hardly, I imagine, have escaped us.

This

This seems to strengthen the doubts which Mr. Lhwyd [b] likewise had upon the same subject. I cannot, however, agree with him in placing *Bullaeum Silurum* at *Kaereu* or *Cairé* in this county; since I could never learn, that there ever were any Roman antiquities discovered at or near that place. *Cairé* is in the parish of *Llangarnmareb* in the vale of Irvon, about eighteen miles North West by North from *Brecknock*, and twelve miles South West by South from *Llandrindod* wells in Radnorshire. I had not an opportunity of visiting this spot myself; but Charles Powell of *Castlemadock*, esquire, a gentleman of great curiosity and learning, who lives on that side of the country, and has examined it with the greatest attention, was so obliging as to inform me by a letter, that he cannot trace the least appearance of a Roman work there. As to the remains of an intrenchment on a rising ground not far from that place, he says, they are evidently British; and I observed other vestiges of British antiquity a few miles distant, in this same vale of *Irvon*, in my road from *Brecknock* by *Llanvibangle Abergwaſſin* into Cardiganſhire. They are two very large stones, eight or nine feet high and about four feet wide, of an irregular form, standing nearly a furlong distant from each other in some low grounds, a mile South East of *Llanwortbid* wells. Hence there seems to be very little foundation for placing the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy either at *Buahlt* or *Kaeren* as Mr. Horsley [i] justly observes. Near the river Irvon is a spot about a mile and a half distant South West from *Llandrindod* wells in Radnorshire, and not much out of the road from thence to *Buahlt*, which seemed to me to have really the appearance of a Roman station, and may very probably have been the *Bullaeum Silurum* of Ptolemy. There is the area of a camp very plain, as well as the foundations of a wall which appears to

[b] Bishop Gibson's Edit. of Camden's Britannia, Vol. II.

[i] Britannia Romana, B. III. chap. i. pag. 363.



have been built of stones in the same form and thickness with that of *The Gaer*, near *Brecknock*. Having been prevented by the badness of the weather from examining this place myself with due exactness, I entreated the favour of Mr. Powel (in whose neighbourhood it lies) to make further researches, and to oblige me with them. The following is an extract of a letter, dated 25th October last, which I received from him upon this occasion.

“ IN September last, agreeable to your desire, I visited the remains  
 “ of the old camp or station near *Llandrindod* wells in Radnorshire.  
 “ It is in a farm called *Cwm*, in the parish of *Llanir*, about a mile,  
 “ and a half North West of *Llandrindod*, and on the West side of  
 “ the river *Itbon*. By its situation on the banks of the river, by  
 “ the form of it (which is a perfect square), and by the remains of  
 “ a very thick stone wall which bounds this square, it seems  
 “ to be indisputably Roman. The area within is a flat or plain of  
 “ about four acres, each side within the walls measuring about  
 “ 432 feet. The walls, which are now a heap of rubbish over-  
 “ run with bushes and briars, appear to have been built with  
 “ stone, and the foundation measures about eight feet in thickness; a  
 “ foss also without the wall measures about ten or twelve feet.  
 “ Parallel to the North and West sides, but not quite the length of  
 “ either, and about twenty yards from the foss, there are the remains  
 “ of another wall and ditch, seemingly a kind of outwork to this side,  
 “ which is the the most accessible; the river *Itbon* and a kind of  
 “ gully or hollow naturally defending the others.”

FROM this account of the actual remains of Roman antiquities in and near Brecknockshire, we shall be the less surprised at finding some vestiges of that people even in the customs of the country. Dr. Kennett [*k*], speaking of the Roman customs in particular, says, he never saw the sport called *Quintain* practised in any part of the country but where Roman ways did run, or where Roman garrisons

[*k*] Parochial Antiquities in Hist. of Alchester and Burcester, chap. iv.

had been placed. This sport is still practised at weddings among the better sort of freeholders in Brecknockshire; and as it differs a little from that of other countries, it may not be amiss to describe the manner of it here. On the morning of the nuptials, the bridegroom, attended by a large company of his relations and friends on horseback, goes to fetch his bride at her father's house, and thence escorts her to church accompanied by another party of her relations and friends: after the ceremony is over, on their way home to the bridegroom's, a spot is chosen near the road side, where a few flat planks about six feet high are erected side by side. Long thick sticks are then distributed to each of the young men who are inclined to enlist in the sport. They grasp these sticks near the middle, resting one end of it under the arm; and thus they ride full speed towards the planks, striking the stick against them with the utmost force in order to break it, where the diversion ends. We know not precisely how the Romans practised the *Quintain*, but it is supposed to have obtained that name from *Quintus*, because it was repeated every fifth year among the Olympic games. It is still practised in many places both in France and other countries [l], and, in all probability, nearly in the same manner, if one may judge from Regnier's metaphorical use of the word *Quintaine* in the famous 13th Satire, intitled, "La Macette," where speaking of the heroine of his piece, he says:

"Lasse enfin de servir au peuple de quintaine."

Plot [m], who likewise considers it of Roman origin, describes the manner of it in Oxfordshire, which exactly corresponds with the account which Sir Henry Spelman [n] gives, who was an eye-witness. It is still practised, though differently, about Carmarthen (the ancient

[l] Girald. Cambrenf. "De Rebus a se gestis," par. ii. cap. 4. — Du Fresnoz, Gloss. in verbo.

[m] Hist. of Oxfordshire, chap. x. sect. 22. 53.

[n] Glossary in verb QUINTAN.



*Maridunum* of the Romans), so that Dr. Kennet's observation may be esteemed in general true. Since, therefore, we trace the footsteps of the Romans in this sport, the prevalence of it in Brecknockshire, where we have other evident marks of them, seems a circumstance not unworthy notice.

HAVING nothing further to observe relative to the Romans in Brecknockshire, give me leave by way of supplement to add some account of another remain I met with in Landevailag church yard, two miles North of Brecknock in the road to Buahlt. It is a flat monumental stone four inches thick, seven feet ten inches long, and about fifteen inches wide in the middle, being contracted nearly an inch towards the top and the bottom, where likewise it appears to have been broken. This stone was, I presume, originally sepulchral, but at present it serves to cover a low wall contiguous to the outside of the South wall of the church. Upon the upper part is carved, in very low relief, a rude unpolished figure, representing, perhaps, some king, or military chief, arrayed with a sort of tunic, and holding a sceptre, sword, or other instrument in each hand. Over his head is a cross; and under his feet an inscription; the characters of which are remarkably plain, exclusive of their being a little disfigured by a fracture in the stone. What is really the meaning or even the language of this inscription, is not easy to determine, as the last letter appears reversed, and some of the others are different from any I can find in the British characters. They continue very legible, as may be observed from the exact copy of them in the engraving here given of this stone, which I am induced to esteem a remain of Danish antiquity, from its perfect resemblance to many others allowed to be so. The whole (except a small fragment broken on one side) is in exceeding good preservation, although it was probably the workmanship of the fifth or sixth century. Mr. Jones of the Exchequer was pleased to apprise me of the following inscription on a monumental stone in the porch of the





*The Round Tower at Ardmore in Ireland.*



the same church, CATVC, which may, perhaps, refer to Cadoc, who was a king and martyr in Brecknockshire, and died in the year 492.

SUCH are the the observations I have the honour of laying before the learned Members of this Society ; and if thought worthy of their approbation, the trouble which attended the collecting them will be amply compensated.

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LII. *An Extract relating to the Round Tower at Ardmore, in Ireland: By Mr. Peter Collinson.*

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 7, 1763.

IN the parish of Ardmore, and county of Waterford, in Ireland, there is a round Tower built of hewn stone, upwards of one hundred feet high, and forty five feet in circumference at the base; the door is fifteen feet from the ground; the roof is pyramidal, being of stone, very well cut, and closely joined together, and well plaistered within side, from top to bottom, as clean and white as if newly done. The whole fabric is divided into four unequal belt-ings or stories, with a window to each; having four windows in the upper story. On the top is a kind of Cross.

SIR James Ware mentions a round Tower which stood near the cathedral of Cork, and another near the church at Brigonne; but these no longer remain.

THERE is one, however, now standing at Cloyne; and another, much more remarkable, near the old ruined church at Kinnith; as this is different from all others, it may deserve a description. It is seventy feet in height; consisting of six stories, each eleven feet



nine inches high. The first story is a regular hexagon, each side being ten feet four inches. From this story to the top, it is quite round, all built of hewn stone; it stands one hundred and twenty-four feet from the West end of the church. An ancient MS. containing some annals mentions, that this tower at Kinnith was built about the year 1015.

In the County of DOWN,

ARE two round Towers now standing; that at Drumboe, twenty-four feet distant from the North West door of the church, is thirty-five feet high, and forty seven feet in circumference. The other at Down Patrick stands forty feet from the old cathedral: it is sixty-six feet high, the walls are three feet thick, and its diameter, measured on the inside, is eight feet.

In the County of KERRY,

STILL remain two ancient ecclesiastical round Towers; one opposite the West end of the cathedral, near an hundred feet high, built mostly of a dark kind of marble; the door faces the West entrance of the church. Another round Tower is now standing near the ruins of the cathedral at Rattoo.

GENERAL REMARKS.

THE round Towers are spread through divers parts of Ireland; they differ from each other in degrees of height, some thirty seven feet, others fifty and more; that of Kildare is one hundred and thirty two feet high; and that at Kilkenny is little less.

THEIR outward circuit at the base rarely exceeds forty two feet; walls three feet thick; diameter within seldom more than eight feet; they gradually diminish from the bottom to the top, which is covered with a stone roof. Within side are abutments to rest the timbers upon, for the several floors or stages, to which they ascended by ladders; every story had a little window; the upper four windows looking different ways. The door for entrance from eight to twelve and to fifteen feet from the ground, without steps or stairs.

VARIOUS.

VARIOUS and uncertain have been the conjectures of the time of building, and use of the tall round slender Irish Towers. The application of their scanty dimensions hath puzzled our modern antiquaries.

SOME imagine them to have been places of security from dangers of an enemy; others, that they were watch-towers; some took them for beacons: Sir Thomas Mollyneaux concluded they were built for belfries, as they were always near the church; but no bells of any size could hang in them. Some plausibly enough fixed them for habitations of a set of Anachorets, called *Stelites* from their living on pillars. Thus their real use lay in the dark; so great is their antiquity, and so long hath their original purpose been forgot!

UNTIL about the year 1750, Mr. Charles Smith, author of “The ancient and present State of the Counties of Down, Waterford, Kerry, and Cork,” who with great industry was searching ancient records for materials for those histories, met with some ancient MSS which clear up this long-disputed subject; and from these histories all the above abstracts are taken.

THESE ecclesiastical round Towers were built in the darkest times of superstition, about anno 900 or 1000.

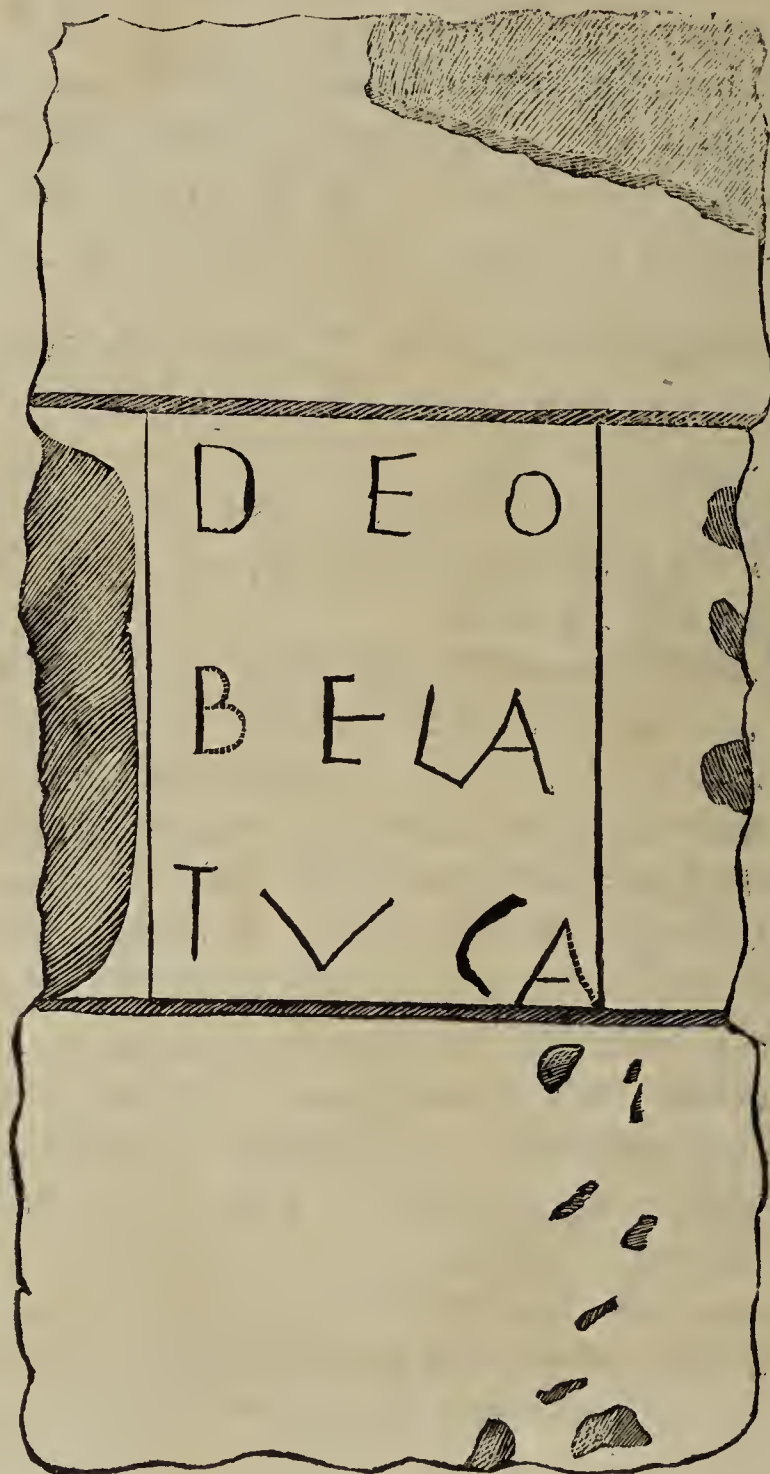
THE ancient Irish MSS relate, that these Towers were used for imprisoning penitents; some other writers name them *Inclusoria*, et *arcti Inclusorii Ergastula*, the prisons of narrow inclosures: particularly the MS of the Life of Dunchad o Braoin, of whom it is said, that he betook himself into such a prison, wherein he died anno 987.

THE MSS add, that these penitents were placed in the uppermost story of the Tower; where having made probation, or done penance, such a limited time, according to the heinousness of their crimes, they then were permitted to descend to the next floor; and so on by degrees until they came to the door, which always faced the entrance of the church, where they stood to receive absolution from the Clergy, and the blessings of the People.



LIII. *An Inscription, from a Roman Altar found at Brough on the Sands in Cumberland: By the late Lord Bishop of Carlisle.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 27, 1766.



<sup>1</sup> This sketch of a small Altar found at Bourgh by Sands is in proportion to the original, as 3 to 5.

GENTLEMEN,

THE drawing, or rather sketch, I now lay before you, was made from a Roman altar lately dug up in the Vicar's Garden at Brough on the Sands in Cumberland, supposed to have been the *Axelodunum* of the Notitia, but certainly was a Roman station, close adjoining on Severus's wall.

It is of a coarse red stone, adorned only with plain mouldings, as represented in the sketch. The inscription is complete, but the letters very rude and meanly cut, though very legible, consisting but of two words, viz.

DEO  
BELA  
TVCA.

Which certainly stands for Belatucadro, and, I think, the fifth inscription which has been discovered in Great Britain, addressed to this *Local Deity*, for such I am inclined to pronounce it with Camden [a] and Gale [b], or at least another name for Apollo, with Dr. Ward [c], and not a *Cognomen* of Mars, or another appellation of him as has been conjectured.

THE first, in point of time, that has been discovered, was inscribed on an altar dug up at Ellenborough in Cumberland, and seen by Mr. Camden there, though now lost: it runs thus;

BELATV  
CADRO  
IVL. CI  
VILIS  
OPT.  
V. SLM [d].

[a] Gibson's edition of the Britannia (1722), pag. 101.

[b] Gale's Notes on Antonine's Itin. pag. 32.

[c] Horsley's Brit. Romana, pag. 261.

[d] Here you will observe, the word *Belatucadro* stands singly, without the adjunct *Deo*.



THE second we have in the Additions to the Britannia Rom. an altar said by Horsley to be now lost, though it was remaining at Netherby, a famous station in Cumberland (where it was dug up) not many years since; and is as follows:

DEO MARTI  
BELATVCADRO  
RO. VR, &c.

HERE, says Mr. Horsley, it is justly remarked, that this inscription argues *Mars et Belatucader* to be the same deity [e]; but it is more justly supposed by Dr. Ward, that the conjunctive *et* between *Marti* and *Belatucadro* was omitted by the transcribers [f], and consequently they were two distinct deities.

THE third was an altar found also in this county near Scaleby Castle, and thus inscribed:

DEO. S. BE  
LATVCA  
ROAV. DO.  
- - VLLINVS  
V. S.

MR. HORSLEY, in his remarks upon this inscription, declares his opinion very strongly, that Belatucader was a *local deity* [g]; though afterwards, when he came to speak of the Netherby altar above mentioned, inscribed, *deo Marti Belatucadro*, forgetting what he had urged a few pages before of Belatucader being a local deity, he concurs with the author of the Additions to Camden, in pronouncing Belatucader a *cognomen* only of the God Mars [h].

DR. WARD litigates this notion very ably, and observes from Selden and Vossius, that Belatucader was the same as Belenus or Βέλus, whom both Herodian and Capitolinus affirm to be Apollo,

[e] Ibid. pag. 271.

[f] Ibid. pag. 261.

[g] Ibid. pag. 261.

[h] Ibid. pag. 271.

who,

who, it appears from Aufonius, was worshiped by the Druids. Dr. Ward adds, "I can't but incline to think, that this deity was "Apollo rather than Mars, both from the affinity of this name "with other names of Apollo, and because I don't find the epithet " *sanctus* ever given to Mars, and here the inscription runs, Deo " *sancto Belatucadro*."

THE fourth was inscribed also upon an altar found at Whelp-Castle a famous Roman station in Kirkby Thore, Westmorland, and runs thus :

DEO BELATVCAD.  
RO. LIB. VOTV  
M FECIT  
IOLVS.

THIS last corresponds exactly with mine, being addressed simply to the god Belatucader ("deo Belatucadro); now, as four out of five inscriptions wherein Belatucader occurs, have no adjunct but *deo*, Dr Ward's conjecture, that the *et* in the Netherby inscription has been omitted by the transcriber, is strongly confirmed, and consequently Belatucader was not a Cognomen of Mars, but either a local deity worshiped by the Romanised Britains in this part of the province, or another name for Apollo.

CHA. CARLISLE.



LIV. *A Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Dr. James Garden, Professor of Theology in the King's College, at Aberdeen, to — Aubrey, Esquire.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, December 4, 1766.

HONOURED SIR,

**Y**OURS, dated at London, April 9th, 1692, came to my hands about ten days after ; since that time, I have been using my best endeavours for obtaining a satisfactory answer to your queries : if that which I now send you be not such as I desired, and, it may be, you expected, it is none of my fault : for I not only visited sundry of those antiquities (to the number of six or seven) concerning which you desire to be informed ; but also employed the assistance of my friends, whereof some were going from this place to other parts of the country, and others live at a distance. I have been waiting all this time for an account of their diligence ; and albeit I have not heard as yet from all those persons to whom I wrote and spoke for information, yet I thought it not fit to delay the giving you a return any longer, lest you should apprehend, either that your letter had miscarried, or that I had neglected the contents of it.

WHAT the Lord Yester and Sir Robert Morray told you long ago is true, viz. that in the North parts of this kingdom many monuments of the nature and fashion described by you are yet extant. They consist of tall big unpolished stones, set up on end, and placed circularly, not contiguous together, but at some distances. The obscurer sort (which are the more numerous) have but one circle of stones standing at equal distances, others towards the South  
or

or South East, have a large broad stone standing on edge, which fills up the whole space betwixt two of those stones that stand on end, and is called by the vulgar the Altar stone: a third sort more remarkable than any of the former (besides all that I have already mentioned) have another circle of smaller stones standing within the circle of the great stones. The area of the three sorts is commonly (not always) filled with stones of sundry sizes, confusedly cast together in an heap [a].

Two of the largest and most remarkable of these monuments that ever I saw are yet to be seen at a place called Auchincorthie, in the shire of Merris, and five miles distant from Aberdeen. One of which has two circles of stones, whereof the exterior circle consists of thirteen great stones (besides two that are fallen, and the broad stone towards the South) about three yards high above ground, and

[a] J. G. Keyser, in his "Antiquitates selectae Septentr. et Celt." pag. 11. after some account of Stone-henge (which he takes to be the work of the Anglo-Saxons) and other the like monuments, adds, "Superfunt in ipsa Anglia complura ejusmodi monumenta, inter quae eminent vasta saxa in orbem disposita in Oxoniensi comitatu, quae *Rollerick-stones* vulgus appellat." Vide Plot's Nat. Hist. Oxf. cap. 10. "De iis quae in Devoniam haud procul Exonia exstant, *Mighty-stones* dicta." Vide Speed. "Quinque millibus passuum a Bristolio meridiem versus, et uno milliari Anglico a Pensfordia, qua spectat ad occidentem solem, rudera restant duorum ejusmodi operum, quarum alterum una lapidum corona, alterum tribus constitisse videtur. Illud si reliquorum dimensionem sequamur, 32 eximiae magnitudinis lapides habuit, quorum non nisi 13 superstites, in terram omnes dejecti aut proni, exceptis tribus. Centum ulnis Brunsvicensibus (60 fere Anglicis Yards) ab iis conspiciuntur majores duo lapides, quos recentiores quidam scriptores perperam nominant *The King and Queen stolen*, regis reginaeque sedes; incolae appellant *The Parson and Clerk*, fabulantes choream Die Dominica saltantium una cum sacerdote et fidicinibus in lapides fuisse versam. Nonnulla hujusmodi monumenta visuntur etiam in Orcadibus insulis. De Scotiis conferri debent, quae Hector Boethius habet in *Hist. Scot.* De ingentibus et rudibus saxis quae haud longe a Naasa Hiberniae in agro Kildariensi et alibi cernuntur," Leg. Ware, Antiq. Hibern. cap. xxiv. pag. 103. et seq. T. M.



seven or eight paces distant one from another; the diameter being twenty-four large paces. The interior circle is about three paces distant from the other, and the stones thereof three feet high above ground. Towards the East from this monument, at twenty six paces distance, there is a big stone fast in the ground, and level with it, in which there is a cavity, partly natural and partly artificial, that will contain, as I guess, no less than a Scotch gallon of water, and may be supposed to have served for washing the priests, sacrifices, and other things esteemed sacred among the heathen. The other monument (which is full as large, if not larger, than that which I have already described, and distant from it about a bow-shot of ground) consists of three circles having the same common center. The stones of the greatest circle are about three yards, and those of the two lesser circles three feet high above ground, the innermost circle three paces diameter, and the stones standing close together.

ONE of the stones of the largest circle on the East side of the monument hath upon the top of it (which is but narrow, and longer one way than the other) a hollowness about three inches deep, in the bottom whereof is cut out a trough one inch deep, and two inches broad (with another short one crossing it) that runs along the whole length of the cavity, and down by the side of the stone a good way, so that whatsoever liquor is poured into the cavity upon the top of the stone doth presently run down the side of it by this trough: and it would seem, that upon this stone they poured forth their *libamina* or liquid sacrifices.

THERE is also another stone in the same circle, and upon the same side of the monument (standing nearest to the broad stone that stands on edge, and looks toward the South), which hath a cavity in the upper end of it; it is considerably lower on one side, and will contain about one English pint: at the first sight it seemed to me to have been made for burning a lamp; but when I considered that it was sub dio, I found it could not be for that use: afterwards

observing it more narrowly, I perceived that it was cut after the fashion of the cavity in the other stone already described, albeit not so clearly and distinctly; and that there is a natural fissure in the stone, by which all the liquor poured into the cavity runs out of it down by the side of the stone to the ground.

THE general tradition throughout this kingdom concerning this kind of monuments is, that they were places of worship and sacrifice in heathen times: few of them have particular names. In this part of the country they are commonly called *standing stones*; and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the Irish tongue is spoken, they call them *caer*, which signifies a throne, an oracle, or a place of address, as I am informed by a judicious person here who understands that language, and was lately in those parts, where, he says, they have such a superstitious veneration for those monuments that they will not meddle with any of their stones, or apply them to another use; and being lately at Auchincorthie, I was told, that a poor man who lives there, having taken away a stone from one of the neighbouring monuments above described, and put it into his hearth, was, by his own relation, troubled with a deal of noise and din about his house in the night time until he carried back the stone unto the place where he found it.

SOME of them are called chapels: for instance, there is a place in the shire of Aberdeen, and parish of Elton, called Tohell (i. e. below the Chapel) from one of these monuments that stands near by on a higher ground. Another place in the shire of Bamff, and parish of Aberlowr, is called *Leachell Beandich*, which, as my informer told me, is as much as the blessed (chapel), from another of these monuments, which lately stood there in a corn field, and is now demolished. I myself, with others in company, occasionally passing by one of these monuments about five miles distant from Aberdeen, in the parish of Peter Culter, we sent one of our number to the nearest houses to inquire the name of it, and the people there



told him it was called the *Old Chapel*. I was likewise told by an ingenious gentleman, who lives at a place called Troup, in the shire of Bamff, and parish of Gamrie, that not far from his house there is a den called the Chapel Den, from one of those monuments which is near by.

OTHERS are called Temples [b]. In the parish of Strathaven, within fourteen miles of Aberdeen, there is a place called Temple-town from two or three of this kind of monuments that stand upon the bounds of it. And these two, whereof I have given you a particular description, are called by the people, that live near by, *Law Stones* (for what reason, I know not [c]) and Temple Stones. They have a tradition, that the pagan priests of old dwelt in that place (Auchincorthie); and there are yet to be seen, at a little distance from one of the monuments standing there, the foundations of an old house which is said to have been their Teind Barn. They report, likewise, that the priests caused earth to be brought from other adjacent places upon peoples backs to Auchincorthie, for making the soil thereof deeper, which is given for the reason why this parcel of land, though furrounded with heath and moss on all sides, is better and more fertile than other places thereabouts.

ALL these names (except the first) confirm the general tradition concerning these monuments, that they were places of worship; and some of them, as that of temple and temple stones, declare, that they have not been erected by Christians, or for their use, which their structure also doth sufficiently demonstrate beside.

[b] In Wiltshire, in the parish of Winterbourne, in the tithing of Ricardson, is a fair Down called Temple Down, which is in the country of those Temples I write off. Quere, if not in Dorset? C. L.

Not far from Marlborough, is a village called Presholt, perhaps it might be Priests Holt (i. e.) Priests Wood. Mr. Aubrey.

[c] From their (viz. barrows, heaps of stones, &c.) being intended for sepulchres, they are called Lows in Staffordshir, and Lawes in Ireland. Antiq. Corn. first edit. pag. 200.

ALBEIT

ALBEIT from the general tradition, that these monuments were places of pagan worship, and the historical knowledge we have that the superstition of the Druids did take place in Britain, we rationally collect, that these monuments have been temples of the Druids; yet I have found nothing hitherto, either in the names of these monuments, or the tradition that goes about them, which doth particularly relate to the Druids, or point them out; unless these two following instances will amount to any thing.

THE first is of a monument of this kind in the shire of Bamff, and parish of Aberdeen, which, as a gentleman that lives near by it doth inform me, is called *Cairneduin*, or *Cairnedewin*. Now *cairne* in our language doth signify an heap of stones; and whether it is put here for *caer*, or that this kind of monuments are called *cairnes* from the heaps of stones which are usually to be found within them, I cannot say; but that which I take notice of is, that it may be, the name of this monument formerly has been *Caer*, or *Cairndrewin*, and that the letter *r* has been left out in the pronunciation afterwards. Yet nothing can be affirmed in this matter, because the name of this monument is not to be found in any old writing; and we have no other rules to direct us about it besides the pronunciation of the vulgar.

ANOTHER instance which I shall mention is, of a parcel of land six miles distant from Aberdeen, and belonging to the emoluments of my office, which is commonly called *Cairnetradban*, a name whereof I never could understand the meaning, until that, since I received your letter, perusing the conveyances of this land, I find, that in the first of them, which is not above three score and ten years old, it is called *Cairndraidlane*, and *Cairnedraidland*: now by the preceding instance it appears, that these monuments are sometimes called *Cairnes*; and I am prone to believe, that the true name of this land is *Cairnedruidland*, and that it has been so denominated, not  
from



from any of those monuments standing within the bounds (for I find only one of them, and that not very remarkable, standing upon the borders of it); but rather because it may have been a part of the revenue which appertained of old to the Druids and their temples; if we had the old evidences (which are wanting), it may be, the matter would be yet clearer [d].

I HAVE only one thing more to add, which was written to me a few days since from the country; viz. that some persons who are yet alive, declare, that many years since, they did see ashes of some burnt matter, digged out of the bottom of a little circle, set about with stones standing close together, in the center of one of those monuments which is yet standing near the church of Keig in the shire of Aberdeen.

IN case any of these monuments shall upon inquiry be found in France (where you know the Druids were in no less credit and reputation than in Britain), it would greatly contribute to the confirming your opinion about them.

THUS, Sir, I have given you a tedious account of such things relating to these antiquities as have come to my knowledge, which I fear will contribute little to your purpose. In case any thing that is considerable shall be communicated to me hereafter by any of those persons to whom I have either spoken or written for

[d] The very ingenious author of *Topographical Anecdotes*, under the article *Inverness-shire*, p. 647. informs us, that Mr. Gordon in his *Itin. Septentr.* p. 166. Pl. LXV. has given a particular description and view of two of the four circular buildings mentioned by Buchanan, lib. i. and iv. as in *Ross*, now in this shire, in the vale of *Glenbeg*. Martin mentions several such in Lewis Isle. Dr. Stukely had an unpublished plate of that which Gordon calls *Castle Tellve*, and he, the *Giant's Castle*. He makes them Druidical temples, and his sketch of the vale exhibits a circle of stones with an avenue at the head of a little river. He says, Captain Douglas told him there were vast numbers of stones like Stonehenge, with avenues of stones all over Scotland. T. M.

information,

information, I will not fail to acquaint you; and if my pains can be any further useful to you, you may freely employ

Your friend,

and humble servant,

Old Aberdeen, June 15,  
1692.

J. A. GARDEN.

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LV. *Of the Introduction, Progress, State, and Condition, of the Vine in Britain: By Samuel Pegge M.A. S.A.S.*

DEAR SIR,

THE culture of the vine here in England having been lately under contemplation [a]; I thought it might be worth while, and by no means mal à propos, to examine minutely into the cultivation of it more antiently amongst us; and I here beg leave to present you with the result of my inquiries, as a testimony of that inviolable regard I have so long entertained for your undeserved friendship.

IN that very particular description which Julius Caesar has given us of this island in his 5th Book, there is no mention made of the Vine; for though he says, “*materia cujusque generis, ut in Gallia, est; praeter fagum atque abietem;*” though Pliny reckons the

[a] *Museum Rusticum.*



vine to be a tree, as do others, indeed, both Greeks and Latins [b]; and though there were undoubtedly many Vines in Gaul, as may be noted hereafter; yet the Vine was not commonly esteemed a timber-tree, which is what is usually meant by the word *materia*. I accordingly observe, that the great Naturalist, Pliny, has nothing concerning this tree, as a native of Britain, or as there flourishing, in that large account of it which he has inserted in his XIVth Book. And from hence, I think, one may safely conclude, that the Vine did not grow in Britain, either when Caesar or when Pliny wrote. And indeed, Cornelius Tacitus, writing of the times when Julius Agricola commanded here, expressly denies us the Vine, “Solum,” says he, “praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta, patiens frugum, foecundum” [c].

Now, if there were no Vines here in Agricola’s time, it is not not likely there should be any for many years after; for tho there were Vines in Gaul [d], and it may seem a very obvious matter that they should be brought hither from Aquitain, or other parts of that province, yet the laws of the empire would not suffer it; for, according to my apprehension of things, where there were no vineyards already, the provincials were not permitted to plant them. Domitian, in his time, prohibited by an edict that any new vineyards should be made even in Italy, and that in the provinces the vineyards should be displanted, leaving not above half the quantity at most in any place [e]; and from thenceforward none could plant vineyards but with the permission of the Emperors [f]. The reason of this prohibition was, the too great plenty of wine and the scarcity of corn; and that the sedulous cultivation of the former

[b] Horat. I. Od. xviii. and Dacier ad loc.

[c] Tacitus Vit. Agric. cap. xii.

[d] Solinus, cap. xxiv. and Cafaub. ad Suet. Domit. cap. vii.

[e] Suet. Domit. cap. vii. ver. 14.

[f] Cafaub. ad Suet. Daceria ad Eutrop. IX. cap. xvii. et ad Aur. Victor, de Caesar. cap. xxxvii.

caused agriculture to be neglected; however, there was another cause in respect of the provinces, and which consequently would affect Britain, to wit, that drunkenness there oftentimes occasioned seditions [g]. There was, however, a relaxation of this edict, as to Asia [h]; and as to the edict in general, the Emperor did not rigorously exact the observation of it; for, says Suetonius, in respect of this Emperor, “Quare pavidus semper atque anxius, minimis  
 “etiam suspicionibus praeter modum commovebatur: ut edicti de  
 “excidendis vineis propositi gratiam facere non alia magis re com-  
 “pulsus credatur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant,”

Κῆν μὲ Φάγης ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,  
 “Ὅσον ἐπιπαῖσαι Καίσαρι θυομένην.

In regard to Britain, the Romans, at the time of the edict, were in peaceable and quiet possession of only a small part of the island; insomuch that they had not had time to plant many Vines here; but afterwards, when such an edict was in being, one cannot suppose the provincials here would ever think of cultivating them.

THIS then was the state of things till the reign of the Emperor Probus, who acceded A. D. 276, and reigned about six years. It is not to be supposed, however, that the provinces till this time were any of them without wine, or that the Romans there subsisted without the use of it; on the contrary, if that *seria*, or jar, described by Dr. Musgrave [i], was a wine vessel, as he conjectures [k], it is apparent, that this generous liquor was not wanting even in Britain, for the vessel was found among the Belgae, at the *Devizes*.

[g] Casaub. and Pitisc. ad Suet. This seems to be the ground of that piece of policy in Mohammed, who denied his disciples the use of wine for this reason amongst others. Prideaux, Life of Mahomet, pag. 106. seq.

[h] Casaub. and Pitisc. ad Suet.

[i] Musgrave, I. pag. 192. IV. pag. 11.

[k] Idem, I. pag. 194. IV. pag. 11, 13.



Indeed, the Romans themselves could not well live without wine [1], and no doubt, they soon taught the provincials the use of it. Nay, we know not, certainly, that the Britons of these times had any other liquor but wine and milk [m], and both the Romans and the natives could easily be furnished with the former by importation. Dr. Musgrave, therefore, seems to lay too much stress upon the discovery of this jar, when he infers from it [n], that the Romans who were resident in the reign of Alexander Mammaeae, at the place where the vessel was found, lived *delicately* and *luxuriously*; for certainly the appearance of a single vessel, at a place where wine was an usual beverage, cannot amount to so much as that, since it only shews that they had then some wine there.

To return to the Emperor Probus; he, in the latter part of his time, restored the privilege of the vineyard to most, if not all the provinces to the North and West; and the cause of this indulgence I take to have been, that when Proculus and Bonosus assumed the purple in opposition to him, all the Germans adhered stedfastly to his party; “Unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes, quum  
“ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probø potius perfer-  
“vire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo esse” [o]; for, upon this it follows in the author, “Gallis omnibus et Hispanis  
“ac Britannis [p], *hinc* permisit ut vites haberent, vinumque conficerent” [q]. Casaubon, citing the passage in his Commentary upon

[1] Musgrave, l. c.

[m] Caesar, De B. G. Lib. V.

[n] Musgrave, I. pag. 94. IV. pag. 11, 13.

[o] Vopiscus, pag. 294. ed. Francof.

[p] The Annotator upon Rabin, I. pag. 21. observes, “Eutropius has it, *Vineas Gallos et Pannonos* (instead of *Britannos*) *habere permisit.*” l. ix. cap. xvii. by which he seems to insinuate, that the copies of Vopiscus may be here corrupted; but this is not probable, for, as we shall shew, the liberty of the vineyard was made very general; indeed, how come the Spaniards otherwise to be included?

[q] Vopiscus. *ibid.*

Suetonius [r], reads *hic* instead of *hinc*, contrary to the editions and Madam Dacier, who lays a stress on this word *hinc*, as we shall have occasion to remark below. If this was not the reason of the indulgence, the Emperor probably did it to ingratiate himself with the people of the Northern and Western parts, whom he saw to be so prone to revolts.

BUT, whatever was the cause, it was toward the latter end of his reign, and after the commotions raised by Proculus and Bonosus were suppressed, that Probus permitted the provincials to have Vines; this is the force of *hinc* above, as Madam Dacier has remarked [s], and as is very evident from the account given of this matter by Aurel. Victor, “namque ut ille [Hannibal] oleis Africae pleraque, “per legiones, quarum otium reipublicae atque doctoribus (f. ducto- “ribus, cum Schotto) suspectum rebatur; eodem modo hic [Probus] “Galliam Pannoniasque et Moesorum colles vinetis replevit: *postea* “sane quam barbarorum attritae gentes sunt, quae, nostris principi- “bus suorum scelere interfectis, irruperant; simul caesis, Saturnino per Orientem; Agrippinae Bonoso ab (sic Schottus) exercitu” [t]. So in his Epitome, cap. xxxvii. he relates the suppression of Saturninus in the East, and of Proculus and Bonosus at Agrippina, before he mentions this affair of the Vines. I conceive then, that it might be about A. D. 280, that licence for planting vineyards was granted to the provincials. The licence it seems, was very general; for the Pannonii and the Moesi, as well as the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Britons, partook of it [u]. And he himself, making use of the hands and labour of the soldiers, planted mount Almus, or Alma [w].

[r] Ad Suet. Domit. cap. vii.

[s] Ad Aur. Vict. Caes. cap. xxxvii.

[t] See Dacier ad loc.

[u] Aur. Vict. Caes. cap. xxxvii. Epitome, cap. xxxvii. Eutrop. ix. cap. xvii.

[w] So the MS of Eutropius in the Public Library at Cambridge; and see Vinctus ad loc. see also Victor in Epitome, Vopiscus, and Cellarius, I. pag. 356.



near Sirmium, and mount Aureus in the Upper Moesia, with Vines[x]; and then it follows in Eutropius, by a very general and comprehensive expression, “Et provincialibus colendas (vineas) “dedit.”

THUS it may be supposed the Britons began to plant Vines in this island soon after the year 280. And accordingly Bede, who finished his history A. D. 731, writes expressly, in his description of Britain, “Vineas etiam quibusdam in locis germinant” [y], which account is also inserted from him in Ralph Higden’s Polychronicon[z], and in Richard of Cirencester[a]. The acquiescence of Ralph in this case is of weight, because he well knew what he assented to, since, when he comes to Bede’s assertion in respect of Ireland, he then flatly contradicts him, as will be seen below.

To observe this, by the way, it was not probably in this interval, and during this scarcity of wine in the provinces, to wit, before the year 280, that the Gauls and Britons had recourse to the making of other liquors equally inebriating. Hence Ammianus Marcellinus says of the Gauls, “Vini avidum genus, affectans ad vini “similitudinem multiplices potus” [b].

IT is most natural to suppose, that the propagation of the Vine would be first attempted in the Southern parts of the island, both on account of the climate’s being there the warmest, and their proximity to Gaul, from whence, in all probability, the plants would be first brought. Thus Winchester and its environs were formerly famous for Vines, as appears from the old verses cited by Mr. Somner :

[x] Eutropius, Victor, Vopiscus, Univ. Hist. XV. pag. 478.

[y] Bede, Hist. Eccl. I. 1.

[z] Polychron. pag. 192.

[a] Ric. Corin. pag. 13.

[b] Amm. Marc. Lib. xv.



“ Testis est London ratibus, Wintonia Baccho” [c], &c. The testimony of John Twyne, in his Commentary, who supposes the city of Winchester to have taken its name from hence [d], is very ample and express: “ Haec vero iisdem temporibus Britannis *Caer-*  
“ *guent*, eodem quoque sensu a Romanis dicta est Vintonia: et tem-  
“ poris tractu corrupte nostro more *Wintonia*, a Saxonibus postea  
“ Winchester, id est, urbs vini vel vinifera, quasi dicas, munitio  
“ vel fortificatio ubi crevit optimum vinum in Britannia, appellata  
“ est. Nam cum antiquitus haec insula in locis campestribus ac  
“ montosis, qui solaribus radiis exponerentur, vitibus ad vinum  
“ exprimendum confitis abundaret, ac fieret non illaudandum: nul-  
“ lum tamen erat Wintoniensis Lyaeo latice [e] tractus anteferendum,  
“ aut ne conferendum quidem: quanquam Malmesburiensis Glo-  
“ cestrensis agri vites ac vinum tantopere laudibus evehat” [f].

As to Canterbury, and that neighbourhood, the same author makes the Abbat of St. Augustine’s say, “ Sed ne nostra sane  
“ domus vineis carebat olim, quibus Northomes [g], Fishpole, Lit-  
“ tlebourne, Conningbrooke, in parochia de Sellinge, cum nonnullis  
“ aliis destinabantur.” Mr. Somner conjectures, that the street at  
Canterbury called Winecheape might perhaps take its name from  
being a market for wines [h]. However, he elsewhere informs us,  
that in the time of Henry de Eaftry, prior of Canterbury, A. D.  
1285, seq. that church, as well as the abbey of St. Augustine’s  
there, was plentifully furnished with vineyards, as at Colton, Berton,

[c] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 170.

[d] Other authors do not agree with him; particularly not Mr. Baxter, nor Dr. Musgrave, who, I. pag. 50. observes that the Etymon of Venta is not yet ascer-  
tained.

[e] Legendum forte *latici*.

[f] Joh. Twynus de Rebus Albionis, &c. pag. 116.

[g] These were planted about 1320. Thorn, Chron. inter X scriptores, col. 2036.

[h] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 81.



St. Martin's, Chertham, Brook, and Hollingbourn, all manors belonging to that house, and all situate in Kent [i].

At Rochester, a large piece of ground adjoining to the city, is now called *The Vine*; another there is so called at Sevenoke in Kent; and this also was the name of the feat of the Barons Sandes, now extinct, in Hampshire: on occasion of the mention of this last place, Mr. Camden observes, that we had Vines in Britain ever since the time of Probus the Emperor, "for it was he who gave liberty to the Britains and others to have Vines" [k], agreeable to what has been delivered above. At Halling, near Rochester, the bishop of that see had formerly a Vineyard; for when Edward II. in his nineteenth year, was at Bockingfold, "bishop Hamon" sent him thither," as Mr. Lambarde tells us, "a present of his drinkes, and withal both wine and grapes of his own growth in his vineyarde at Halling, which is now a good plaine meadowe" [l]. Captain Nicholas Toke, of Godington, in Great Chart, in Kent, "hath so industriously and elegantly," says Philipot, "cultivated and improved our English Vines, that the wine pressed and extracted out of their grapes seems not only to parallel, but almost to out-rival that of France" [m].

SUSSEX being a county so far South, one may reasonably expect to hear of something material from thence; and accordingly Mr. Lambarde writes, "History hath mention, that there was about that tyme (the Norman invasion) great store of Vines at Santlac (near to Battel in Suffex)" [n]. He adds, as to Berkshire, "The like whereof I have redd to have been at Wyndfore, in so moche

[i] Somner, Antiq. Canterb. pag. 145.

[k] Camden, Brit. Col. 147. See also Rapin, I. pag. 21.

[l] Lambard's Peramb. of Kent, pag. 419.

[m] Philipot Villare Cantianum, pag. 112.

[n] Lambarde's Top. Dict. pag. 350.

“ as tythe of theim hathe bene theare yelded in great plenty, which  
 “ gyveth me to think that wyne hath bene made longe fence within  
 “ the Realme; although in our memorie it be accompted a great  
 “ deintye to heare of.” See a further account of this affair at Wind-  
 for, pag. 423. where the author observes, that some part of the  
 wine was spent in the King’s household, and some sold for the King’s  
 profit.

JOHN Twyne has observed, that William of Malmesbury has  
 extolled the Vines and wine of Gloucestershire; and the passage is  
 extant in William’s book *De Gestis Pont.* IV. pag. 283. See also  
 Camden, col. 268, 269, and bishop Gibson’s insertion there.

“ AT Ragenesia, in Effex,” says Domesday Book, “ there is one  
 “ park, and six arpennies of vineyard, which if it takes well, yields  
 “ twenty modii of wine,” which, says Mr. Camden, “ I here take  
 “ notice of, both for the French word *arpennis* [o], and for the  
 “ mention of the wine made in this island” [p].

WE hear of vineyards also in Middlesex [q], the Isle of Ely [r],  
 at Dunstable [s], and at St. Edmundsbury; for in the ingaved  
 plan of that town, the vineyard of the abbey is particularly noted.

As to Northamptonshire, Martin Abbat of Peterborough, T.  
*Regis Stephani*, is said expressly in the Saxon Chronicle to have  
 planted a vineyard [t]; indeed, I think, there were few great  
 monasteries here in England but what had their vineyards.

[o] A measure peculiar to Vineyards, meadows, and woods. Spelm. Gloss. in voc.

[p] Camden, Brit. col. ccccxi. Spelm. Gloss. v. ARPENNIS.

[q] Spelm. ibid.

[r] Ibid.

[s] “ Prior dirationavit apud Scaccarium misericordiam Stephani Vinitoris et  
 “ Petri Vinitoris sui.” *Annal. Dunst.* pag. 94. where Mr. Hearne conjectures we  
 we should read *fili sui*; but I think without cause, these two persons being  
 probably not father and son, but rather employed in the vineyard of the  
 Priory.

[t] Pag. 240. See also R. Swapham, pag. 105, 108, 109. This vineyard was  
 large.



VINES have also come to tolerable perfection both in Oxfordshire and Staffordshire, “The Vine,” says Dr. Plot, “has been improved  
 “by the right worshipful Sir Henry Lyttleton to that advantage at  
 “Over-Arley, which is situate low and warm, being furrounded  
 “with hills, that he has made wine so good there, that it has been  
 “altogether undistinguishable from the best French wines by the  
 “most judicious palates; but this, I suppose, was done only in  
 “some favourable over-hot summer, though, if the Vines were  
 “placed advantageously, ’tis possible it might be done in an indif-  
 “ferent year; the reverend and learned Dr. Ralph Bathurst, president  
 “of Trinity College, and dean of Wells, having made as good  
 “Claret here at Oxon. A. D. 1685, which was a very mean year  
 “for that purpose, as one could wish to drink. Which is so far  
 “from wonder, that we are informed they planted vineyards, and  
 “made wines, antiently over all the kingdom; for though Tacitus  
 “says, it bore all sorts of fruits *praeter oleam et vitem*, yet we find  
 “in Vopiscus, that the Emperor Probus, for some good service  
 “done, permitted the Britons to plant them vineyards, which had  
 “been no great favour, could they not have made wines” [u].

BUT there are evidences of vineyards even further North than this; there was one at Darley Abbey in the county of Derby [x]. And, if I be not mistaken, the several villages there of South Winfield, North Winfield, and Wingerworth, all take their names from the vineyards formerly flourishing at those places.

THEY had Vines also in Ireland, according to Venerable Bede, who testifies, that it was not in his time *vinearum experts* [y]; and Richard of Cirencester agrees with him [z]; but Ralph Higden contradicts him upon this head [a].

[u] Plot, Nat. Hist. of Staff.

[x] Grant 4 and 5 Ph. and Mary from Sir William West to his son Edmund, penes Joh. Heath de Derby, Gen.

[y] Bede, Eccl. Hist. pag. 42.

[z] Ric. Corin. pag. 42.

[a] Higden, pag. 180.

MANY more passages relative to this subject might, no doubt, be collected together from the writings of our antiquaries, but these are all that occur to me at present; and, it is hoped, will be sufficient for the purpose, namely, to shew, what Dr. Plot above observes, that the Britons *made wines antiently over (almost) all the kingdom.*

A LEARNED man, without a name, cited by Mr. Camden [b], fancied that the passage above quoted from Vopiscus, concerning the Emperor Probus, might slip from him unawares, intimating, that the country was unfit for Vines; whereas, says Mr. Camden, in answer, and very justly, “We not only have Vines *now*, but for certain “had great store in former days.” This, indeed, sufficiently appears from the account above given of the several plantations.

THE cause of the disuse and the neglect of the vineyards here in England was, according to some, the sloth of the inhabitants; and not the indisposition of the climate [c]; according to others, it was the cheapness of the Aquitain wine, and the ease by which it could be brought over, together with the great advantage that could be made of the pastures otherwise [d]. Twyne attributes it partly to our indolence, and partly to that fondness for French wines which came upon us tempore Henrici III. “Verum hae (*vineae*) et quot-  
“quot in Anglia fuerant, ad vinum comparatae, temporum vicissitudine, et incolarum socordia deficere, maxime Henrici tertii, “Johannis filii, temporibus coepere, cum gliscentibus domesticis et “externis bellis, nostrates Gallicum vinum et sanguinem ardentius “sitirent” [e]. It is certain, that in the reign of Henry III, about A. D. 1260, a Dolium of the best wine could be bought for 40 s. sometimes for two marks, and sometimes for 20 s. [f].

[b] Britannia, col. xc.

[c] Camden, Brit. col. cclxix.

[d] Virdungus ad Taciti Agric. cap. xii.

[e] Twyni Comment. l. c.

[f] W. Whitlesey, pag. 130.



It is not to be supposed that at any time, since the first introduction of the Vine here, the inhabitants of the island produced wine enough for their own consumption, but rather, that in all seasons they imported a great deal from abroad. Thus in the later periods, when the monasteries were at the richest, and vineyards were the most numerous and the most flourishing, we find, that at Canterbury, the prior of the Trinity, now called Christ Church, received two pence upon every vessel of wine coming into the port of Sandwich [g]. And Philip, King of France, made a grant of one hundred *modii* [h] of wine annually to the same church [i]. A great quantity was imported from Gascoigne; for at the Jubilee, A. D. 1420, it is noted, that such care was taken by the victuallers, that “*lagena vini rubii de Vasconia tunc vendebatur ad octo denarios, et lagena vini albi ad sex denarios,*” &c. [k]. At the Inthronization feast of Abp. Warham, A. D. 1504, or of Abp. Robert Winchelsea, A. D. 1295 (for the bill of fare which Mr. Battely in his Appendix, page 27. gives as Abp. Warham’s, is in Dr. Drake’s edition of Matth. Parker, page 63. given as Abp. Winchelsea’s, but I take it to belong to the former) there was provided as follows;

“De vino rubeo vi dolia prec. dol. iiii<sup>l</sup>

“De vino clareto iv dol. prec. dol. lxxiii<sup>l</sup> iiii<sup>d</sup>.

“De vino albo elect. unum dolium (price was 3<sup>l</sup> 6<sup>s</sup>).

“De vino albo pro coquina i dol. (the price 3<sup>l</sup>).

“De malvesey i but. (price 4<sup>l</sup>).

“De offey i pipe (price 3<sup>l</sup>).

“De vino de Reane [l] ii Almef. price 1<sup>l</sup> 6<sup>s</sup>) [m].

[g] Philipot Villare, pag. 93.

[h] The Modius was 36 gallons, Spelm. Hence the French *muyd*.

[i] Philipot’s Visitation, in Herald’s office.

[k] Somner, Append. pag. 51.

[l] I suppose *Rhenish*, *Aun* being the proper term for it.

[m] Battely’s Append. pag. 27.

'Tis plain from the prices being mentioned, that the wine used on the occasion was chiefly imported, and the reason that so much was employed in the kitchen was, that it was a fish dinner, and consequently much wine would be consumed in the several sauces. The priory of Dunstable, upon the failure of their malt A. D. 1274, consumed five dolia of wine [n], and, as it appears, these wines were chiefly imported [o]. At the great inthronization feast of Geo. Nevil, Abp. of York, 6 Ed. IV. an hundred tuns of wine was used [p], too much, doubtless, to be thought to grow in his own territories, or indeed to be easily purchased in England. Henry Bowet, Abp. also of York, is said to have consumed eighty tun of claret yearly in his house [q]; and it appears from Matthew Paris, that Hugh Norwold, Bp. of Ely, A. D. 1252, had much wine in his cellars in casks [r]. King John A. D. 1199, ordained by a statute, “ Quod nullum tonellum vini Pictavenfis vendatur carius quam xx solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Andegavenfis carius quam xxiv. solidis, et nullum tonellum vini Franciae [s] carius quam pro xxv solidis; nisi vinum illud adeo bonum sit, quod aliquis velit pro eo dare circa duas marcas ad altius,” &c. [t] It seems they drank abundance of wine in England at this time; for it follows, after mention made of the alteration contained in this ordinance, “ Et sic repleta est terra potu et potatoribus.”

As the wine in Britain was never sufficient in quantity for the use and consumption of the inhabitants, so I conceive it was not very excellent in goodness. Mr. Camden acknowledges, and very justly, that as soon as the Sun has passed Leo, the after-

[n] Annal. Dunst. pag. 425.

[o] Ibid. pag. 628. 641.

[p] Battely's Appendix, pag. 29.

[q] Drake's Eboracum, pag. 440.

[r] M. Paris, pag. 855.

[s] Poictou and Anjou then belonged to England.

[t] Annal. Burton. pag. 257.



noon heat in autumn is too little in strength and continuance in Britain to ripen and concoct grapes to perfection [u]. But nevertheless, there is no reason to say, as Monsieur Rapin does, that no great profit was reaped by the permission granted by the Emperor Probus [w]; for the benefit was considerable questionless, although the British wines might not be of the richest and most generous kind, nor adequate in quantity to the consumption. William Thorn expressly testifies, that in his time, the vineyard of his abbey in Nordhome was “ad commodum et magnum honorem” [x]. But as to this article of goodness and perfection in the wines here made, something may be seen concerning them in the quotations produced above: the performances of Mr. King are known to many; and the Museum Rusticum will inform of the quality of the Burgundy made by his Grace the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel in Suffex.

Whittington, Dec. 31.  
1763.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[u] Camden, col. MCCCXII.

[w] Rapin, I. pag. 21.

[x] Thorn. Chron. col. MMXXXV.

LVI. *Copy of a Letter relating to an antient Greek Inscription, from Mr. Thomas Blackwell, Greek-Professor, in Marishall College, Aberdeen, to Mr. J. Ames.*

SIR,

**Y**OURS of the 11th of July, inclosing an antient Greek inscription, and honouring me with a request of its explanation, came not to my hands till the other week in the country; and as it is now vacation, I am just about setting out on a tour through the west of Scotland. This hurry allows not the leisure requisite to investigate the dark parts of the inscription; but I will chearfully give you my conjecture at first sight.

I AM of opinion, that the inscription is of the *Low Empire* when translated to Constantinople, and when the people were rather more, if possible, addicted to public shews, than when they only wished for “*Panem et Circenses* :” the *Veneta* and *Prasina* factions divided the state: the very Emperors took party, and erected statues to drivers and gladiators (Porphyrius, Faustinus, Julian) many of whose inscriptions yet remain. Rich men, among their numerous train of slaves, had all sorts of artists, and gladiators of every denomination.

WHEN any of these excelled at the spectacles, the people begged their liberty, or their master and mistress gave it voluntarily; and frequently, either they from gratitude, or their masters from ostentation, caused an inscription to be ingraved in honour of their victories and manumission. With unfeigned submission, therefore, to better information, I conjecture yours to be such a monument



in honour of Hecataea, a rich lady, who seems to have had some celebrated gladiators among her slaves. If either a part of her estate lay in *Tasso* (the ancient Thasus famous for wine, corn, gold, and not very far from Constantinople), or if the slaves were natives of the island, 'twill equally account for the marble's being found there. The first word, by the breach in the stone, is imperfect: I cannot doubt but it has been ΕΣΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ, to answer to the *Mirmillones* on the other side; and if there be no erasion between them (which you will easily perceive) that these two words, originally Latin, but like hundreds more adopted into the lower Greek, were meant as *Indexes* over the lower inscription, which, through the wonted ignorance of the lapidary, is both confused, and seems by the blanc at the end, and unfinished of the borders (usually ornamented) to have been left half done.

UPON these foundations I most humbly offer the reading and explication of your marble, herewith inclosed; and as I have little doubt of its general purport, the confusion of the numerals (through the blundering of the illiterate carver) makes me only say *ἐπέχω*, until I am set right by you and the learned ingenious gentlemen of your Antiquarian Society, to whom I desire my sincere respects.

Marishal-College, Aberdeen,  
August 18, 1748.

T. BLACKWELL.

ΕΣΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ:  
ΑΙΓΙΠΙΑΝ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ ———  
ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ ΝΙ: Ο: ΣΤΕ: ΙΑ

ΜΟΡΜΙΛΛΟΝΕΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ:  
ΤΥΝΔΑΡΕΩΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΙΑΣ ———  
ΕΝΙΚΑ Π: ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ ———

Thus in the usual character, and at length:

Ἑσσεδάριοι Ἑκαταίας.  
Ἀιγίπαν, Ἑκαταίας (ἀπελδύθερος)  
ἀπελύθη νικήσας ὁ. σεφάνης ια

Μορμιλλόνες Ἑκαταίας.  
Τυνδάρεως, Ἑκαταίας (ἀπελδύθερος)  
ἐνίκα π ἀπελύθη. ———

Perhaps the blunders of the stone-cutter in the arrangement and numerals have occasioned the stone to be thrown aside, with the inscription unfinished.

Τυνδάρεως is the Attic nominative.

The

*The following is an Observation, relating to the same Inscription :  
Communicated by that learned Orientalist, M. De la Croze.*

**P**OUR ce qui concerne l'inscription Grecque de l'isle de Thafos, elle n'est assurément pas entière. Il y a manque au moins une lettre des la premiere ligne, où il faut lire ΑΣΕΔΑΡΙΟΙ, ou Εσεδαριου. C'etoit une espece de gladiateurs qui combattoient dans des chariots *in Effedis*. Il en est fait mention dans Artemidore, Liv. II. ch. xxxiii. pag. 122. de l'edition de Nicolas Rigault, et dans une Inscription deterrée à Lion, l'an 1714.

LVII. *A Copy of a Deed in Latin and Saxon, of Odo, Bishop of Baieux, half Brother of William the Conqueror; with some Observations thereon by Samuel Pegge, A.M.*

**T**HIS copy, which is taken from a fine Chartulary in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esquire, is curious both for the instrument itself, and the seal. It was perused by our famous Kentish Antiquary Mr. John Philipot, who tells us, in his account of Wickam-Brews[a], that, “in the twentieth year of William the Conqueror, Odo, Bishop of Baion, and Earl of Kent, held this place of the gift of his half brother, which was that Prince, and

[a] Philipot, Villare Cantianum, pag. 361.



“ Trendley Park adjoining. There was a composition between the  
 “ archbishop and this man, for certain land of the archbishop, to be  
 “ inclosed, and included within the said park of Trendley; which  
 “ signifies thus much unto us, that Woodstock, which boasts  
 “ itself to be the first inclosed park of England, was not so ancient  
 “ as this at Trendley.”

THE Deed is both in Latin and Saxon: the Latin part, which in the beforementioned Chartulary is written in a common modern round hand, runs thus: —“ Odo Baiocensis ep's Lanfranco  
 “ archiep'o et Hammoni vicecomiti et omnibus Cantuariensib. regis  
 “ fidelib. salute'. Notum sit vobis q'd ego O Baiocensis ep's et  
 “ comes Cantie nostre matri que in honore Sc'e Trinitatis exstructa  
 “ est Canturiensi eccl'e trado has quatuor dennas terre videlicet  
 “ Loffenhamu' et Adalardendena' et Blacecota' et Acdena' a do'no  
 “ Lanfranco archie'po et om'ib. successorib. ej. perpetuo usu possi-  
 “ dendas pro redemptione domini mei Guilelmi regis Anglorum et  
 “ mee et eorum de quorum salute specialit. injunctu' est michi p'cu-  
 “ rare et p' exca'bio XX et V acrar. terre que infra parcum meum  
 “ de Wikeham continentur” ——— The Saxon part being an off-  
 trait, the original instrument is engraved on the opposite page.

THE first thing remarkable in the instrument is, that it is given in two languages; the Saxon is not the translation of the Latin made after the execution of the Deed, nor the Latin of the Saxon; but both are originals. And this, it seems, was the custom at this time, and during the reigns of the first Norman kings, as appears from several originals in the possession of T. Aistle, Esquire [b], and others. In the Textus Roffensis, pag. 141. you have an instrument of the Conqueror's in Latin, with the Saxon following. Indeed in the copy Mr. Hearne printed from, the Saxon part is omitted, but

[b] The seal in those charters are not pendent at the bottom, but affixed to the left side of the charter.

Odo þ of bauf 3pet Landfianc apceþ 7 hæmenē fep ze pefan 7 ealle þaf  
kinges þezenafon cænt fpeondlicæði eop eallū cūð þ ic Odo þ of bauf 7 eopil on  
cænt ze annupe modeþ þ iſepes eipeean on cantpape bypiz þaf fupen  
dæne landes þ iſlofenham 7 æðalapðæn dæne 7 blacecotan 7 Aedanaðpa  
þ fe lafopð Landfianc apce þ 7 ealle hif æfzep 7 ænzan lu heom ze æzma on  
ee ype þis ic do for miner lafopðer alyfedneſſe Willelmes kinges 7 for  
minre 7 for þapa manna alyredneſſe be þapa hælū me iſ ſyndeþlice 7 ymene 7  
for ze hpyſpe fif 7 tpen tizpa æcepa landes þa bezand pð innan minū  
deopfalde æt Wiccam.







in my MS transcript of that book, made under the inspection of Mr. William and Mrs. Elizabeth Elstob, the Saxon is inserted, pag. 105. and it is also printed in Mr. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. pag. 336. And in the old Register or Chartulary of the church of Lincoln, lately recovered to that see by my most valuable friend the present Bishop, an instrument of William Conq. is entered in Latin, but in the margin is written, "Item alia charta *Anglice* "*scripta* continetur in eadem." The Latin here was necessary, because the principal parties, Odo and the Abp. were both Normans (as likewise was Hamo the sheriff), and probably understood not the Saxon tongue: but the king's subjects being in general at that time Saxons, for that reason it was drawn up likewise in that language. And hence in after-times charters were directed "*et Francigenis et Anglis.*" But for the further illustration and confirmation of this, it is very necessary here to remark, that, from the time of K. Aelfred, it was customary amongst the Saxons to issue their charters in both the French and the Saxon character, from whence it was a very easy transition to apply more tongues than one. Observe the words of Ingulphus: "Detuleram . . . . .  
"chartas etiam Edredi quondam regis, et restauratoris nostri, ac  
"Edgari regis nostri confirmatoris, et aliorum regum Anglorum post  
"eos succedentium usque ad haec tempora nostra, quae partim  
"duplicate tam Gallica manu, quam Saxonica scribebantur"[c]. And in Henry III's time, the sentence of excommunication against the infringers of Magna Charta is directed to be published both in English and French [d]. Thus, therefore, the deeds being twins, but in effect one, a comment upon one will serve for an illustration of the other.

CANTUARIENSIBUS.] This gentile noun is here, and below, formed after a poetical manner; and in the the same shape you will

[c] Ingulphus, pag. 85.

[d] Annal. Burton. pag. 333. See the same Annals, pag. 372. 416.



find it in a metrical inscription cited by Mr. Somner in his *Antiq. of Canterbury*, pag. 126. In prose we have it commonly *Cantuariensis*.

FIDELIBUS.] In the Saxon *þegenar*, *Thegns*, and see Text. *Roffensis* in *Angl. Sacr.* I. pag. 336.

IN honore Sanctae Trinitatis.] For, in honorem. This is usual in inscriptions, as in one in Postling church, Com. Kanc. and another in Ashbourn church, Com. Derby. both of them antient [*e*]. It occurs also in good authors, as *Virg. Aen.* III. 406. See the excellent *Duker ad L. Florum*, Lib. III. cap. xx. *Pitisc. ad Q. Curt. Lib.* IV. cap. ix. § 25. and *Joh. Vorstius ad Sulp. Sever. de Vita Martini*, cap. 10.

HAS quatuor Dennas.] This is the word so frequent in the termination of names of places in the Weald of Kent, and signifies a low place or valley, from the Anglo-Saxon word expressed in the other deed. See also the *Philos. Transact.* N°. 372.; hence the English word *den*, “ferarum five latronum spelunca.”

MEAE.] Lege, meâ.

HAVING done with the phraseology and expressions, I now go upon the Deed itself. The instrument is undoubtedly genuine; and yet John Rous, the Warwick Antiquarian, expressly tells us, that Henry I. was the first of our kings that made use of a seal of wax, *Roffus*, pag. 138. But this author certainly errs; for, in Sandford, we have impressions of the kind, both by William the Conqueror and William Rufus, which no body disputes; not to mention the seals of Edward the Confessor, appealed to by Sir William Dugdale [*f*], Mr. Carte [*g*], and others.

[*e*] See also *Joh. Roffus*, pag. 24, 47; 53. 209. So in *Nomine*, *ibid.* pag. 54. Add. *Bede*, pag. 131. *Dugd. Monast.* II. pag. 125. III. pag. 220. *Marin. Oxon.* pag. 62. *Ann. Burton.* pag. 259.

[*f*] *Hist. of Warwickshire*, pag. 672.

[*g*] *Hist. of England*, Vol. I. pag. 374.

THE park at Trendley is mentioned, but without a name, in Domesday Book, where, under the title of *Terra Episcopi Baiocensis*, we read, as I have it from Sir Edward Dering's extracts;

In Donamesford Hundred.

Im̃ Eps ten' in dñio Wickeham p̃ iv folins se defedt. T̃ra ē ix cañ in dñio sunt ii cañ & xxxvi villi cum xxxii cott hñt ix cañ. Ibi Ecclia, & unus p̃br qui dat xl fol' p̃ annum. Ibi unus parcus, & ii molini de l solid. & ii saline de xxxii denar' & iii piscarie de iv solid' & xxxii acre prati. Pastura ad ccc oves, & ad xxxii anim' Silva q̃ter xx<sup>ti</sup> porc. T. R. E. valebat xxv liḡ. quando recepit xx liḡ. modo xxx liḡ.

It is, nevertheless, omitted by Mr. Lambarde [b]: and whereas Philipot represents it as an inclosure, I must think he is mistaken as to that; for the archbishop's land is not only said to *lie within it* in our Deed, but it is also said expressly *not to be inclosed* in the following extract taken from a MS in the *Dering Library*, intituled, "Index alphabeticus per loca Cantiana et per nomina virorum composuit. ad literas patentes, ad clausa, et ad Escaet. Turr. London. 1633." where we read as follows;

"WICKHAM maner. extent. ejusdem cum feria ultra aquam ib'm  
"et quodam *parco non clauso* in quo sunt cc acr. bosci, in quo maner.  
"heredes Rogeri Daniell et antecessores sui, &c. habent pasturam ad  
"vii boves et cc oves in Grenemersh et alibi, et tempore Pannagii xx  
"porcos et unum aprum. Esc. 3<sup>o</sup> Hen. 6. N<sup>o</sup> - - - post mortem  
"Ed. Com. March." So that, for aught I know, Woodstock may still be the oldest *inclosed* park in England, notwithstanding this of Trendley (or Trindlega, as I have seen it written anciently) was in being so long before it. The words of John Rous, relating to Woodstock, are these, speaking of Hen. II. "Etiam in Anglia  
"parcum de Wodstock cum palacio infra praedictum parcum, qui  
"parcus erat primus parcus Angliae, et pro eo fiendo plures villae

[b] Lambarde's Perambulation, pag. 60.



“destructae sunt, et continet in circuitu septem millia Anglica,”  
 Rossus, pag. 138. The author by *primus* here does not mean first  
 in dignity, but first in time, as is evident from these words a line  
 or two below, “Hujus rei exemplo ceteri domini imparcaverunt  
 “certas terras suas.” See Dugd. Warwickshire, pag. 304.

As to the date of the instrument which I consider next, Philipot,  
 you see, fixes it to the 20th of William the Bastard; but this can-  
 not be endured, since Lanfranc and Odo could not possibly have  
 any dealings together so late as A. D. 1086. they being then pro-  
 fessed enemies, and Odo then a prisoner in Normandy. King  
 William had heaped all manner of honours, great posts, lucra-  
 tive employments, and vast possessions upon this brother of his;  
 but he behaved himself so ungraciously, so insolently, so ambitiously,  
 being said to aspire not only to the Papacy [*i*], but also to this  
 crown [*k*], that, in the year 1082, the king found himself obliged  
 to put him in prison. The king seized him himself in the isle of  
 of Wight; declaring, at the time, that he laid hands upon him, not  
 as bishop of Baieux, which would have been invidious, but as Earl  
 of Kent, a distinction suggested to him by Abp. Lanfranc, as  
 Knyghton expressly informs us [*l*], who likewise was the person that  
 persuaded him to this act [*m*]. Odo was detained in custody in Nor-  
 mandy from that time till within a very short while before the  
 death of his brother William; when obtaining his liberty, but not  
 without much solicitation, the brother consenting to his release with  
 great reluctancy [*n*], he pursued the archbishop with the utmost  
 malice and revenge [*o*]. Lanfranc was made archbishop in the year

[*i*] Lambarde's Peramb. pag. 151. Rapin, I. pag. 179.

[*k*] Lambarde, *ibid*.

[*l*] Knyghton inter X Scriptores, col. 2359.

[*m*] *Ibid*. Sandford Genealog. Hist. pag. 20. Lambarde, pag. 151.

[*n*] Rapin, pag. 180. et Annot.

[*o*] Knyghton, l. c. Brompton, col. 984. Simeon Dunelm. col. 214.

1070, and consequently some time between these two dates of 1070 and 1082 this exchange of land must have been made between the two prelates, and probably about the year 1075. 'Tis observable that the Abp. of Canterbury had no lands at Wickham when Domesday Book was made An. 1086, and that Hammo, or Hamo, to whom the Deed is addressed, was sheriff of this county of Kent in the said year 1075; for Osward, who was sheriff in the time of Edward the Confessor, had lost that office (which was in those days a beneficial employment) and probably at the accession of the Conqueror, as I learn from the following extract from the record of Domesday, “*Testantur quoque quod Hagelei de isto m'o ablata est, que se defendit p' dim. folin. Hanc terram tenebat vicecomes, et quando vicecomitatum amittebat in firma regis remanebat,*” &c. [p]. Osward was a Saxon, and, upon the revolution or change of government at the Conquest, was obliged to give way to a Norman successor, these important places of trust being in general bestowed on the new-comers. Hamo, the now sheriff, was Hamo de Crevequer, or de crepito corde, as we are informed by Mr. Philipot, pag. 18. and certain MS papers of Sir Edward Dering: he continued sheriff all this reign and the next, and is often mentioned as such in Domesday Book.

THESE particulars are all sufficiently clear; however, there is a difficulty in regard of the king's seizure of Odo, which merits some notice. The king, 'tis said, confiscated his effects [q] at that time, viz. in 1082; but how comes it to pass then that Odo has such vast estates in Domesday Book, or in 1086? I answer; either the king did not seize his estates, when he attached his person; or, the survey being begun in 1080, and finished and transcribed in 1086, this county of Kent was dispatched in the first two years,

[p] MSS Papers of Sir Edward Dering, relating to the Sheriffs of Kent.

[q] Rapin. l. pag. 179.



and when the whole was transcribed from the several returns in 1086, the scribe had no regard to any alterations that might intervene after the returns were made, but took the returns as he found them. By which means, although the bishop had lost his lands before the record was completed in the manner we now have it, yet they would necessarily stand there inrolled. But I incline to the former opinion, namely, that the king did not deprive him of his lands; for, had he done that, Odo could scarce have left behind him at his death such immense wealth as he is said to have done [r]. But enough of this; I go on to observe,

THAT the church of Canterbury, now called Christ-church, was at this time sacred to the Holy Trinity, as appears from many places in Domesday Book[s]; and consequently, when in the Saxon part it is called Xper cýrcean, this has no peculiar meaning, but is to be understood in the common sense, all churches being in fact the churches of Christ.

AND thus having run over the Deed, I proceed to the seal, which is indeed very curious, and is here ingraved. 'Tis, perhaps, the only seal of Odo this day extant, at least it is the only one I have ever seen. It may be doubtful whether it is an obverse and reverse, as is common in great seals, or two different seals. I incline to the former opinion. In this case, Odo is represented on horseback with his sword and spurs as an earl, on one side; and on the other, standing with his cross or pastoral staff as a bishop. 'Tis the same person on both sides, as appears from the Tonsure. Odo had been made bishop of Baieux by his brother, and very soon after the Conqueror's arrival in England was created by him earl of Kent; and one cause of the king's apprehending him in the isle of Wight, was, as Mr. Lam-

[r] Philipot, List of Lord Treasurers. Lambarde, pag. 151.

[s] Somner, Antiq. of Canterb. pag. 126. Appendix, N<sup>o</sup>. I. & XL. Battely, Cant. Sacr. pag. 11. 13.

barde informs us, his refusing to surrender this county [t]. For the earldoms at this time were not titles of honour only, but places of office and trust. And to enumerate on this occasion the rest of his grand titles and offices, he was chief justiciary of England [u], treasurer [w], constable of Dover Castle [x], and in his brother's absence A. D. 1067 was joined with Fitz-Osbern in the regency of the kingdom [y]; he was regent again A. D. 1074 [z]. The immense power and grandeur of this prelate is well expressed in these words of Ingulphus, pag. 78. "Inveniens . . . archiepiscopum  
" Lanfrancum, et dominum Odonem episcopum Baiocensem fratrem  
" uterinum domini regis, ipsumque Cantuariæ comitem, et princi-  
" pem palatii, quorum nutu et consilio tam rex ipse, quam regnum  
" ejus universum in omni negotio regebatur, causam mei adventus  
" confidenter exposui," &c. Odo's estate was prodigious, since we find from Domesday Book he had no less than 180, or, as Dr. Brady writes, 184 fees in the county of Kent, besides a great many more in others [a]. He was by nature of a martial disposition, as is evident, from his being employed by his brother, Anno 1080, to ravage the county of Northumberland [b], and by the stout opposition he made to his nephew William Rufus in the beginning of his reign [c]. The distinction of his episcopal and civil character is properly expressed to us on this seal, as indeed it might well be; this prelate, in his subscriptions, describing himself in both his capacities, as an ecclesiastic, and as a lay-peer. Thus in the instrument of accord be-

[t] Lambarde, *Pérambulation*, pag. 151.

[u] Rapin, I. pag. 181. in not.

[w] Philipot, l. c.

[x] Lambarde, pag. 150. MS *Hist. of the Constables* by Sir Edward Dering.

[y] Rapin, pag. 168. Brompton, col. DCCCCLXII, Lambarde, pag. 222.

[z] Rapin, pag. 175. et annot.

[a] Id. pag. 172. et not.

[b] Brompton, col. DCCCCLXXVII: Simeon Dun. col. XLVIII.

[c] Id. col. DCCCCLXXXIV. DCCCCLXXXVI. Simeon, col. CCXIV, CCXVI. Philipot, pag. 344. Sandford, pag. 20.



tween the archbishops of Canterbury and York, Anno 1072, the form runs, "Ego Odo Baiocensis episcopus, et comes Cencie" "conf." [d]. But this matter is finely illustrated by the speech of his brother when he arrested him, for he told him, he did not lay hands on him as bishop of Baieux, but as earl of Kent. All the historians take notice of the king's finesse on this occasion; and it is certain, that Odo could make no exception to that distinction, since he himself made use of the like in his subscriptions, and on his public seal.

It may be doubted whether it be a cross or a pastoral staff which he holds in his left hand. The Abunah of Aethiopia carried a cross [e]. But there is this following very remarkable passage in Sir Philip Skippon, concerning the Greek archbishop of Philadelphia; "He" "had a long staff, black, and silvered over; the top of it was" "like a crutch" [f]. Skippon looked upon it to be a crozier or pastoral staff, and I incline to think this of Odo's to be such; for the impression on this side agrees perfectly with the description which Dr. Thoroton gives of a seal belonging to the abbey of Felley in Nottinghamshire; "there was also another writing with an" "oblong seal of green wax hanging at it, the impression whereof" "contained the image of a certain bishop standing in his pontificals," "holding his episcopal staff in his left hand, and lifting up his right" "hand to bless; the circumference of it being, Sigillum Gaufridi" "Dei Gratiâ Ebor. Archiep'i." [g].

As to the inscriptions on this seal, they probably constituted a verse in rhyme, according to the custom of the age, and allusive to Odo's double character as earl and prelate; but the remaining lines are too

[d] Ingulphus, pag. 92.

[e] Hamilton's Voy. Vol. I. pag. 26.

[f] Churchill, Coll. of Voy. VI. pag. 513.

[g] Antiq. of Nottinghamshire, pag. 254.

few, for one to make even a conjecture about them, and therefore I shall not attempt it.

'Tis observable, that Odo, in the Deeds, assumes only his ecclesiastical title, and, in his subscription cited above from Ingulphus, he places the episcopate before the earldom, from whence it should seem, that the reverse of the seal is put where the obverse should be, and *vice versa*. But, perhaps, sometimes one side of his seal was put first, and sometimes the other, according to the nature of the business; and this exchange of land being a meer secular affair, and relative to his earldom, propriety required that the obverse should exhibit him in that capacity. But be this as it will, the reverses of seals have sometimes been mistaken for the obverse. I shall give an instance of this, and therewith conclude these remarks. We have a seal of the Conqueror's in Mr. Speed [b]: Mr. Lewis, in his *Dissertation on Seals*, takes the obverse of it for the reverse, & v. v. [i]. Mr. Agard, a much greater man, has incurred a like error in regard of that king's stile, into which, I think, he was led, by the same misapprehension of the seal; for in Mr. Hearne's *Collection of curious Discourses*, pag. 160. speaking of William Conq. he says: "thinking himself to be a most happy man to be king over so worthy a kingdom, which he placed in his stile, and preferred before his dukedom of Normandy." But the inscription on the seal may convince any considerate reader, that these gentlemen are both of them mistaken: it runs thus;

"Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum,

"Hoc Anglis regem signo fatearis eundem."

[b] See also Sandford's *Genealog. History*.

[i] Speed and Sandford commit the same error in their types; but Sandford, in his explanation, pag. 5. takes it right.



'Tis plain from the construction, that this is the true order; that the title of Normandy is put first, and consequently, that that side is the obverse of the seal. As Normandy is placed first here, so I judge it to be on the seals of William Rufus, Henry I. &c. where our antiquaries, Speed and Sandford, have run into the same error. In short, these Normans seem to have esteemed the dukedom preferable to the kingdom; for William I. in his disposition of these states, gave Normandy to his eldest son.

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LVIII. *The Manner of burienge great Persons in ancient Tymes : From a MS. in the Possession of Sir William Dolben, Baronet.*

**T**HIS is the ordinaunce and guyding that perteyneth unto the worshipfull beryyng of ony astate to be done in manner and fourme enfewing.

1. FIRST to be offered a swerde by the moste worshipfull man of the kyn of the sayde astate and ony be presente, ellis by the mooste worshipfull man that is presente there on his p'te.
2. ITEM in lyke wyse his shelde, his cote of worship', his helme and creste.
3. ITEM to be hadde a baner of the Trinite, a baner of our Lady, a baner of Seynte George, a baner of the faynt that was his advowre [a], and a baner of his armes. Item a penon of his armes. ITE' a standard and his beste there inne.

[a] Or, avowee, i. e. his Patron or Protector.

ITE' a geton [*b*] of his devise with his worde.

4. ITEM a doubill valaunce aboute the herse bothe above and bynethe with his worde and his devise wreten therinne.

5. ITEM xii scochons of his armes to be sette uppon the barres w'toute and withinne the herse, and iii doseyen penselles to stande aboven upon the herse among the lytes.

6. ITEM to be ordeyned as many scochons as be pilers in the churche, and scochons to be sette in the four quarteres of the said churche as beste is to be sette by discrecion.

7. ITEM as many torches as the faide astate was of yeares age. And on ev'ry torche a scochon hangyng. And the beerers of the torches in blac.

8. ITEM hit is to be ordeyned standyng v officers of armes abowte the said hers, that is to say, oone by fore the faide herse beryng the cote of worshipp and he standyng at the hede in the mydwarde of the sayde hers, the secunde standyng on the right side of the herse in the fore frunte beryng his fwirde, the thirdd standyng on the lifte side of the sayde hers beryng his helmet and creste, the fourthe on the right side of the faide hers in the nether parte of the herse beryng his baner of armes, and the v<sup>th</sup> standyng on the lifte side in the nether parte he beryng his penon so standy'g til the offeryng. And the baners of the Trinite, oure Lady, Seynt George, and the baner of his advoure, to be set above in iiii partes of the faide hers and his standard alfoo.

9. ITEM to be ordeyned certeyn clothes of gold for the ladyes of his kyn beyng w'tynne the said hers, and they to ofere the faide clothes of golde.

10. ITEM a certeyn of innocentes all clothed in white, ev'y innocent beryng a taper in his hande.

11. ITEM the hors of the faide astate trappid with his arms, and a man of armes beyng of his kyn upon the same hors, or ellis ony

[*b*] I suppose for Guidon.



other man of worshipp in his name, havyng in his hande a spere, fwirde, or axe, so to be presented to the offeryng in the churche with ii worshipful men, oon goyng on yat eon side of the hors and yat other on that other side of the hors, and a man ledyng the same hors.

12. ITEM the heire of the faide astate, after he hathe ofered, shall stand up'on the lifte side of the prisfe receyvng the offeryng of the fwirde, helme, and crest, baner of armes, cote of worshipp, and penon. It'm ii men of worship to stonde on the same side of the prisfe, haldyng a basyn w<sup>t</sup> mony therinne for the offeryng.

LIX. *An Extract relating to the Burial of K. Edward IV.  
From a MS. of the late Mr. Anstis, now in the Possession of Thomas Astle, Esquire.*

What shall be don on the demyse of a King annoynted.

WHEN that a King annoynted is decessed, aft' his body is sp'ged, it must be washed and clenfed by a bishop' for his holy annoyntem<sup>t</sup>, than the body must be bamed, wrapped in laun, or reynex yf it may be gotyn, than hosyn cherte, & a perer of shone of rede lether, & do on his furcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his hed, and then ley hym on a fair borde cou'ed with cloth of gold, his on hande on his bely & a sep'r in the toder hande, & oon his face a kerchief, & so shewed to his noblez by the space of ii dayez & more yef the weder will it suffre.

AND when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away & bowell hym, & then estones bame hym, wrappe him in raynez wele tra-

meled in cords of filke, than in tarseryn tramelled, & than in velvet, & so in clothe of gold well tramelled, & than led hym & cofre hym, & in his leed w<sup>t</sup> hym a plate of his stile, name, & the date of our Lord gravyn, and yef ye cary hym, make an ymage like hym clothed in a furcote w<sup>t</sup> a mantell of estate, the laces goodly lying on his bely, his sept'r in his hande, and a crown on his hed, & so cary hym in a chare open w<sup>t</sup> lights & baners, accompanied with lordes and estates as the counseill can best devyse, having the hors of that chare trapped with diu'se trappers or elles w<sup>t</sup> blake trappers of blake with scochons richely betyn, and his officers of armes aboute hym in his cotes of armez, and then a lorde or a knyght w<sup>t</sup> a courser trapped of his armez, his herneyfz upon hym, his falet [*a*] or basenet on his hed crowned, a shylde and a spere till he come to the place of his ent'ring. And at the masse the same to be offred by noble ducs.

Obit

Edw. 4<sup>t</sup>.

But when that noble p'nce the good King Edward the iiij<sup>th</sup> was decessed at Westm' in his paleys, which was the v<sup>th</sup> day of Ap'll, the xxiii yer of his reign;

FIRST, the corps' was leyde upon a borde all naked, saving he was cou'ed from the nauell to the knees, and so lay openly x or xii hourez, that all the lordes both spirituall & temp'ell then beying in London or ner therabout, and the meyer of London w<sup>t</sup> his bredre sawe hym so lying, & then he was fered, &c. & was brought into the chapell on the morn aft, wher wer songen iii solemn massez; first of our Lady songe by the chapeleyn; & so was the second of the courte; the iii<sup>de</sup> masse of Requiem whiche was songen by the bishop' of Chichester, and at aft'non ther was songen dirige & comendacion.

And after that he had the hole psalter seid by the chapell, and at nyght well weched with nobles & oder his f'u'ntz, whose names

[*a*] Helmet.



ensuen' like as apperethe in the watche rolle from the first nyght in tyme he was beryed. And at the masse of Requiem the lorde Dacre, the queen's chambreleyn, offred for the quene, & the lordes temp'ell offred dayly at that feid masse, but the lordez sp'uells offred not to the bishop' but to the high auter, & oder the king's f u'nts offred also; this ordre was kept in the paleys viii dayez, savinge aft' the first daye ther was but on' solempn masse, whiche alway was songen' by a bishop'; and on Wednyfday the xvii day of the monyth aboue-feid the corps was conveied into the abbey, born by diu's knyghts & esquiers that wer for his body, (that is for to sey) Sir Gelbard Stanley, Sir John Savage, Sir Thomas Wortley, Sir Thomas Molyneux, Sir John Welles, John Cheyny, Maist' of the king's horse was Hungerforford Guy of Wolston, John Savacotts, Thomas Tyrell, John Rysley [or Ryfley], Thomas Darcy, John Noryse, Loys de Brittayll, & Pofre Colyns; having vpon the corps a riche & a large blak cloth of gold with a croffe of white clothe of gold, and above that a riche canapye of cloth imp'rall frenged w<sup>t</sup> gold and blue silk born by Sir Thomas Seyntleg', Sir Will Parr, countroller, &c. Sir John Asteley, & Sir Will'm Stonouar, knyghts. And at eu'y corner a baner: The first of the Trinite whiche was born by Sir Herry Ferrers: The secound of our Lady born by Sir James Radelyf: The iii<sup>de</sup> of Seint George, born by S' George Broun: The iiij<sup>the</sup> of Seint Gelbard, born by S' Gilbert Debenh'm. And the Lorde Haward ber' the king's baner next before the corps, having the officers of armez aboute them. Wher was ordeyned a worthy herse like as it apperteyneth, having before hym a grete pr'effion, and th'archebishop of Yorke, ch'unceler of England, the bishop of London, the bishop of Chest'r, the byfshop of Bathe, the bisshop of Chicheft'r, the bisshop of Norwiche, the bisshop of Durh'm, the bisshop of Lincol'n, the bishop of Ely, the bisshop of Rowchestr, th'abbot of Habyngdon, th'abbot of Beremondessy, & these lordes folowed the

corps

corps & aboute the corpsleying their handez therto, th'erle of Lincoln, the Marques of Dors', th'erle of Huntingdon, the Viscount Barkley, the Lord Stanley, &c. the Lorde Hastings, the king's chamberleyn, the Lorde Dacre, the queenys ch'mberleyn, the Lord Dudley, the [L<sup>d</sup>.] Burgeyn, the Lorde Morley, S' Richard Woodvyle, the Lorde Awdley, the Lorde Ferrers, the Lorde Lisle, Sir Gelbard Wodevyll, the Lorde Cobh'm, Lorde Wellez, Sir Joh'n Bourfer, Sir Thomas Bourfer, & S' Thomas Bourfer of Berneys, which Lordes wer w<sup>in</sup> the herse that fvice, & on the morn, also the f'vice at Westmynster was don by the archebifshop of York, &c. and at the masse th' abbot of Bermesey was

And in that herse, aboute the corps & the clothe of gold abouefeid, ther was a p'sonage like to the similitude of the king in habite roiall, crowned w<sup>t</sup> the verray crown on his hed. Holding in that one hande a sceptr, and in that o'r hand a balle of filuer & gilte w<sup>t</sup> a crospe'ate. And aft that the lords that wer w<sup>in</sup> the herse, and the bifshoppez had offred, the meyer of London offred, and next aft hym the chef juge & other juges & knyghts of the kings hous w<sup>th</sup> the barons of the eschequier & aldermen of London as they myght went to. And when the masse was don and all other solempnite, and that the lordes wer redy for to ryde; ther was ordeyned a roiall char cov'ed w<sup>t</sup> blak veluet, having aboute that a blak clothe of gold with a white cros of gold; vnder that a mageste clothe of blak farfenet, drawen w<sup>t</sup> vi co'fers trapped with blac velvet w<sup>t</sup> certeyn scochens betyn vpon farfenet betyn w<sup>t</sup> fyne gold. Apon the fore hors and the thill hors fate ii charet men. And on the iiii oder hors fatte iiii henschemen. On either side the forseid draught went diu'se knyghts & esquiers for the body & other; some leying their handez to the draught and su'me leyding the hors unto tyme they passed the townes whose namez ensuen'.

AND the Lorde Haward, the kings banerer, rode next before the forehorse bering the kings baner vpon a courser trapped w<sup>t</sup> blak velvet



w<sup>t</sup> diu'se scochons of the kings armez with his morenyng hudd on his hed. When the corps w<sup>t</sup> the p'fonage as aboue w<sup>t</sup> pro'ffion of bifshoppes in pontificalibz & the iiii ordrez of frerez was conveyed to the chare. And in ordre as aboue to Charingcroffe wher the bifshop'z senced the char, and the lordes toke their horse, & so p'ceded to Syon that nyght, where at the church dore the bifshoppez senced the corps, & the corps and the p'fonage was born as before into the qure. And ther the bifshop' of Duresm did the f'vce. And on the morn in like ordre as aboue he was conveyed to the chare, and from thens to Wyndesore. Wher at Eton the bifshop of Lincol'n & the bifshop' of Ely w<sup>t</sup> the college mette & senced the corps. And so p'ceded to the castell gate the archebifshop of York, the bifshop of Wynchestr, senced the corps, beying ther w<sup>t</sup> the bifshop of Norwiche, the bifshop of Duresm, the bifshop' of Rochestr, w<sup>t</sup> the chanons of the college and the kings chapell, & p'ceded to the newe church wher in the quer was ordeigned a merveillous wele wrought herse and forthw<sup>t</sup> to dirige. In the euenyng they of the college seid the hole pfalter, and ther was a grete watch that nyght by grete lordez, knyghts, esquiers for the body, gentilmen vsuers & other whose names ensuen'. First, w<sup>t</sup>in the herse the Lorde of Burgeyne, the Lorde Audley, the Lorde Morley, the Lorde Lisle, the Lorde Haward, the Lorde Wells, the Lord Delawar, the Lord Fitzhugh, the Lorde Cobh'm, S' John of Arundell, S' Thomas Bourser of Berneys; knyghts w<sup>t</sup>out the herse, S' Thom's Seintleger, S' Gilbert Debenh'm, S' Herry Ferrers, S' John Savage, S' Gelbard Stanley, Sir Thomas Wortley, S' Thom's Molyneux, Sir Will'm Parker, Sir Will'm Stonouar.

ESQUIERS for the body, John Cheyny, maist' of the horse, Will'm Barkeley, Will'm Odall, Rob' Poyntz, John Rysley, Loys de Brytailles, Anethe Malyverer, John Sabacotts.

GENTILMEN

GENTILMEN vschers, Will'm Colyngburn, Edward Hargill Bass,  
Nicholas Cromer, Will'm Myddleton, & Po're Colyns, Will'm  
Clyfford, Mytton.

OFFICERS of armes, Garter, Norrey King of armes, Gloucest'r  
herauld, Ruge Croys, Ginez, & Harrington, p'su'nts.

ESQUIERS of houshold, Thomas Mortymer, D'ymok,  
Redmell, Delamer, Edmond Georgez.

YOMEN vschers, Will'm Ryder, Roger Chelfale, George Cheyny,  
James Pemberton, w<sup>t</sup> diu'rs & many yomen of the crown, and of his  
ch'mbre & houshold, whiche hylden' torchez.

AND on the morn', aft' the comendacions, beganne the masse of  
our Lady songen by the byfshop of Duresin, at which' masse Sir  
Thomas Bourghier offred the masse peny because ther was no grett  
astate p'sent, & aft' hym alle other as wer in the herse, &c.

AFTER that masse done, beganne the masse of the Trynyte songen  
by the bisshop of Lincoln, at which masse th'erle of Huntingdon  
offred the masse peny. Aft' hym the oder lords and noblez as  
aboue.

ATTE the begynnyng of the masse of Requiem, the whiche  
was songen by the archebisshop of York, officers of armez wente  
to the vestyary, wher they receyved a riche embrowdred cote of  
armes, which Garter king of armes hyld w<sup>t</sup> as grete reu'ence as  
he cowde at the hede of the seid herse till the offring tyme, at  
whiche tyme, aft' that the erle of Lincoln had offred the masse peny,  
p'sented it to the Marques of Dors' & to th'erle of Huntingdon,  
they to offre it; and the seid Gart' receyved it ageyn of the arche-  
bisshop, and hyld it stille at the high auter ende till the masse was  
done.

IN likewyse Clarenceux & Norrey kings of armes resceyved the  
shilde, and at the offring tyme p'sented it to the Lorde Maltrevers &  
to the Viscount Berkeley; but ther was a question whether the son  
& heir of an erle shuld go above a viscount, &c.



## Kings of Armes.

AND Marche and Ireland receiued a rich swerde whiche had be sent from the Pope, & in like forme behaued themself, and p'sented it to S' John & S' Thomas Bows', the kings aunts sonnez.

ALSO Chest'r & Leycest'r herauldes receyved a basenet w<sup>t</sup> a riche crown of gold, and p'sented it to the Lorde Stanley and the Lorde Hastings.

AND Gloucest'r & Buking'h'm, herauldes, w<sup>t</sup> Rouge croffe, Rosse, Bla'che, Caleys, Ginez, and Berwyk and Harrington p'syu'nts, went w<sup>t</sup> the knyghts & esquiers for the body to the churche dore for to receyve of John Cheyny maist' of the horse, the man of armez, whiche was Sir Will'm Parr, armed at all peces, saving he was bareheded, having an axe in his hand, the polle dounward, and thus accompanied to the quere dore wher he did alight. And the dekyn toke the horse which was trapped w<sup>t</sup> a riche trapper of the king's armez, wher the Lorde Audeley & the Lord Ferrers receyved the man of armez, and with the forseid compeny of knyghtes, esquiers, heraulds, & purfyu'nt, accompenyed hym to his offring; whiche done, eu'y lorde in mornying habits offred for hymself; and aft' them, diu'se other noble knyghts, officers, &c. Incontinent that don, the lordez offred certeyn clothes of gold to the corps, eu'yche aft' his degree or astate; that is for to seye, th'erle of Lincoln iiij, because he was the kings nevew, & son & heir of the Duc of Suff'. The Marques of Dorf', iiij. Th'erle of Huntingdon, iii. The Lorde Malt'uers, ii, because he was the son and heir of th'erle of Arundell. The Viscount Berkeley ii. W<sup>a</sup> le Debat. Ev'ry baron & the other knyghts, moorners, because of nyghness of bloode. I cannot ordre how they offred because the prese of the people was so grete betwene them & me; but the loughest in astate or degree by to the corps beganne first. The namez of the barones & knyghts aforeseid. The Lord Stanley, the Lorde Hastings. The Lorde Audeley. The Lord Burgeyny. The Lorde Dudley. The Lorde

Lorde Ferrers. The Lorde Fitz Hugh. The Lord Delawar. The Lord Morley. The Lord Lisle. The Lord Cobh'm. The Lorde Haward. The Lord Wellez, & the Lord Mountjoye. S' John of Arundell, &c.

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LX. *A Remembrance of the Order and Manner of the Burial of Mary Queen of Scotts.*

ON Sunday, being the 30th of July, 1587, in the 29th year of the reign of Elizabeth, the queens majestie of England, there went from Peterborough M . . . . Dethick, alias Garter principal king of armes, and five heralds, accompanied with forty horse and men, to conduct the body of Mary, late queen of Scots, from Fotheringham Castle in Northamptonshire to Peterborough aforesaid, which queen had remained prisoner in England . . . . years; having for that purpose brought a royal coach, drawn by four horses, and covered with black velvet richly fet forth with escutcheons of the armes of Scotland, and little penons, round about it; the body being inclosed in lead, and the same coffined in wood, was brought down and reverently put into the coach, at which time the heralds put on their coats of arms, and bare-headed, with torches light, brought the same forth of the castle, about ten of the clock at night, and so conveyed it to Peterborough . . . . miles distant from Fotheringham Castle, whither being come (about two of the clock on the Monday morning) the body was received most



reverently at the minster door of Peterborough, by the bishop, dean and chapter, and Clarenceux king of armes; and, in the presence of the Scots which came with the same, it was laid in a vault prepared for the same, in the quire of the said church, on the South side, opposite to the tomb of Queen Katharine dowager of Spain, the first wife of King Henry the Eighth; the occasion why the body was forthwith laid into the vault, and not borne in the solemnity, was, because it was so extreame heavy by reason of the lead, that the Gentlemen could not endure to have carryed it with leisure in the solemn proceeding; and besides, was feared, that the powder might ripp, and being very hot weather, might be found some annoyance.

ON Tuesday, being the first of August, in the morning, about eight of the clock, the chief mourner, being the Countess of Bedford, was attended upon by all the lords and ladies, and brought into the presence chambre within the bishop's palace, which all over was hanged with black cloath; she was by the queens majesties gentlemen ushers placed somewhat under a cloth of estate of purple velvet, where, having given to the great officers their staves of office, viz. to the lord steward, lord chamberlayne, the treasurer, and comptroller, she took her way into the great hall, where the corps stood; and the heralds having marshalled the severall companies, they made their proceedings as followeth.

Two conductors in black, with black staves.

Poor women mourners to the number of 100. 2 and 2.

Two yeomen harvengers.

The standard of Scotland borne by Sir George Savill, knight.

Gentlemen in clokes to the number of 50, being attendants on the lords and ladies.

Six grooms of the chamber, viz. Mr. . . . Eaton, Mr. . . .

Bykye, Mr. . . . Ceavaval, Mr. . . . Flynt, Mr. . . .

Charlton, Mr. . . . Lylle.

Three

Three gentlemen fewers to the queen's majesty, Mr. Horsfeman,  
Mr. Fynes, and Mr. Martin.

Gentlemen in gownes, Mr. Worme, Mr. Holland, Mr. Crewfte,  
Mr. Watfon, Mr. Allington, Mr. Darrel, and Mr. Fescue.  
Scots in clokes, 17 in number.

A Scottish priest.

Mr. Fortescue, master of the wardrobe to the queens majestie.  
The bishop of Peterborough.

The bishop of Lincoln.

The great banner, borne by Sir Andrew Nowell, knight.

The comptroller, Mr. Melvin.

The treasurer, Sir Edward Montague.

The lord chamberlayne, was Lord Dudley.

The lord steward, was Lord St. John of Basing.

Two ushers.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| Atchievements<br>of honor born<br>by heralds. | { | The hearme and crest borne by Portcullis.<br>target, borne by York.<br>sword, borne by Rouge Dragon.<br>coat, borne by Somersfet. |
|---|---|---|

Clarencieux king of arms, with a gentleman usher, Mr.  
Conyngsbye.

The corps borne by esquires in clokes.

Mr. Francis Fortescue.

Mr. William Fortescue.

Mr. Thomas Stafford.

Mr. Nicholas Smith.

Mr. Nicholas Hyde.

Mr. . . . . Howlands, the bishop's brother.

Eight bannerolles, borne by esquires:

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. King Robert impaling Drummond, By Mr. William Fittz Williams. |                         |
| 2. King James the 1st impaling }<br>Beaufort,                    | Mr. Griffin of Dingley. |



- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
|   | by                                 |
| 3. Guelders,  | Mr. Robert Wingfield.              |
| 4. King James 3d impaling Denmark,                                | Mr. Bevill.                        |
| 5. King James 4th impaling the<br>arms of Henry 7th of England,   | } Mr. Lynne.                       |
| 6. King James 5th impaling Guys,                                  | Mr. John Wingfield.                |
| 7. King of France impaling the arms<br>of Mary queen of Scotland, | } Mr. Spencer.                     |
| 8. Lord Darnley impaling the arms<br>of Mary queen of Scotland,   | } Mr. John Fortescue of<br>Aywood. |

The canopy, being of black velvet fringed with gold, borne by four knights, viz.

Sir Thomas Manners.

Sir George Hastings.

Sir James Harrington.

Sir Richard Knightly.

Affistants to the body, Four barons which bore up the corners of the pall of velvet.

The Lord Mordant.

The Lord Willoughby of Parham.

The Lord Compton.

Sir Thomas Cecill.

Mr. Garter, with the gentleman usher, Mr. Brakenbury.

The Countesse of Bedford, supported by the Earls of Rutland, and Lincolne, her train borne up by the Lady St. John of Basting, and assisted by Mr. John Manners, vice chamberlain.

The Countesse of Rutland, Countesse of Lincolne.

The Lady Talbot, Lady Mary Savell.

The Lady Mordant, the Lady St. John of Bletshoe.

The Lady Manners, the Lady Cecill.

The Lady Montague, the Lady Nowell.

Mrs. Alington, Mrs. Curle.

Two

Two ushers.

Eight Scottish gentlewomen.

The gentlewomen of Countess's and Barones's, according to their degrees, all in Black.

Servants in black coates.

|                             |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| The Countess of Bedford,    | 10. |
| Countesse of Rutland,       | 8.  |
| Countesse of Lincoln,       | 8.  |
| Lady St. John of Basing,    | 5.  |
| All lords and ladyes,       | 5.  |
| All knights and their wives | 4.  |
| All esquires,               | 1.  |

THE body being thus brought into the quire, was set down within the royal herse, which was 20 feet square, and 27 feet in height, covered over with black velvet, and richly set with escutcheons of armes and fringe of gold; upon the body, which was covered with a pall of black velvet, lay a purple velvet cushion, fringed and tasseled with gold, and upon the same a close crown of gold set with stones: after the body was thus placed, and every mourner according to their degree, the sermon was begun by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which certain anthems were sung by the quire, and the offering began very solemnly, as followeth.

*The Offering.*

First, the chief mourner offered for the queen, attended upon by all ladyes. The coat, sword, target, and helme, was severally carried up by the two Earls of Rutland and Lincoln, one after another, and received by the bishop of Peterborough, and Mr. Garter king at arms.

The standard alone.

The great banner alone.

The lady chief mourner alone.

The trayne-bearer alone.

The two earles together.

The



The lord steward,                    }  
The lord chamberlaine,            }  
The bishop of Lincolne alone.  
The four lords assistants to the body.  
The treasurer, comptroller, and vice chamberlaine..  
The four knights that bore the canopy.

IN which offeringe every course was led up by a herald, for the more order ; after which, the two bishops and the dean of Peterborough came to the vault, and over the body began to read the funeral service ; which being said, every officer broke his staff over his head, and threw the same into the vault to the body ; and for every one departed, as they came, after their degrees, to the bishop's palace, where was prepared a most royal feast, and a dole given unto the poore.

LXI. *Observations on the Wardrobe Account for the Year 1483; wherein are contained the Deliveries made for the Coronation of King Richard the Third, and some other Particulars relative to the History of that Monarch, by the Reverend Doctor Milles, Dean of Exeter, President of the Society.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 8, 1770.

**I**T is a misfortune generally attendant on the earlier periods of History, that they want those original and authentick records, which are necessary to transmitt facts and characters of men in a just and impartial light to posterity.

THIS is supposed to have been the case with respect to king Richard III; for although the contemporary Historians of our own [a] and other kingdoms [b] have charged him with a

[a] Arnold, who lived in 1519, published an Account of the Customs of London, with a Chronicle of the Magistrates of that city, where, under the year 1483, he has the following observation, expressing, in very descriptive words, the manner of the young Prince's death. "This year decessyd the Kynge in Aprell, entring into the 23d yere of his regne, and the two sons of Kynge Edward were put to silence, and the Duke of Gloucester tooke upon him the crowne in July," &c.

[b] Philip de Comines says of Richard the III<sup>d</sup>, "Tantost apres le Roy Edward fut mort, le Roy notre maitre en fut adverti, & n'en fait nulle joie, ne semblant quand il le sceut, & peu de jours apres receut lettres de Duc de Gloucestre, qui s'estoit fait Roy d'Angleterre, & se signoit *Richard lequel avoit fait mourir les deux fils du Roy Edouard son frere*. Lequel Roy Richard requeroit l'amitie du Roy, & croy qu'il eut bien voulu ravoit ceste pension, mais le Roi ne vouloit repondre a ses lettres, n'ouir le message, & l'estima tres cruel & mauvais; car apres le trespas du Roy Edward, le dict Duc de Glocestre avoit fait hommage a son neveu, comme a son Roi & souverain Seigneur, & incontinent apres commit ce cas— Livre vi. chap. 9. Hall gives the same account, in his Life of Richard III. p. 2.

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complication of the most atrocious crimes; yet Mr. Buck, fired with a zeal for the house of York, and for the honour of that king (in whose service his ancestor, Sir John Buck, fought in Bosworth Field, and afterwards lost his head for it at Leicester [c]), has professedly undertaken to apologize for Richard's character, and, where he could not exculpate him, has taken uncommon pains to extenuate his guilt.

THE ingenious Author of *Historic Doubts* on that reign, has lately trod the same ground; endeavouring to strengthen Mr. Buck's arguments, and insinuating that many of the crimes imputed to that Prince, are to be charged rather to the malevolence and rancour of the Lancastrian party, than to the demerit of his own conduct. The public, possessed of almost every argument that can be produced for or against that King's character, will judge impartially on the credit of the Historians on one hand, and on the weight of the objections on the other.

THE present observations are confined to one of these facts—the supposed murder of Edward V, and of his brother the duke of York. The circumstances which corroborate this fact are drawn from the fierce and haughty disposition of that prince, his artful and ambitious temper, and the steps which he took both to obtain and preserve the crown.

THE secrecy of this murder, to which only the few perpetrators and accomplices were privy, must have left the publick under great uncertainty as to the manner, though they had no doubt as to the reality, of the fact. In such circumstances, absurd and even contradictory reports would arise concerning the survival and escape of these princes: Had they prevailed during the life-time of their uncle, would it not have been justly presumed that they were raised and propagated by him, as the best expedient for removing the suspicion of their murder? But as they seem to have obtained chiefly at the

[c] See his *Life of Richard III.* Kennet's Coll. vol. I. p. 545.

beginning of his successor's reign, may they not more probably be imputed to the enemies of the house of Lancaster, in order to pave the way for those impostures which they afterwards played off with so much artifice against King Henry VII.

UNFORTUNATELY the two antient Historians produced by the apologists to invalidate the positive account of this murder, though reporting only common hearsay, do nevertheless contradict each other in that very report. Polydore Vergil, an historian of no great authority or credit, says, *In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi Regis aliquâ terrarum parte migrasse, atque ita superstites esse* [d]: But the continuator of the Croyland History, a contemporary writer of more consideration, tells a very different story: *Vulgatum est dictos Regis Edwardi pueros (quo genere VIOLENTI interitus ignoratur) decessisse in fata* [e]. It is observable that both the apologists have omitted the word VIOLENTI in their quotation of this passage, though it is a most expressive and material part of that author's testimony, and gives a very different complexion to it; for if they died a violent death, there can remain no doubt by whose order it was inflicted [f].

THE impartial reader of our English History will judge how far the account given of the death of those two princes is invalidated

[d] Hist. l. ii. cap. vi.

[e] Gale's Hist. Angl. Script. tom. I. p. 568.

[f] The Croyland continuator, speaking of the removal of the Princes to the Tower, mentions a piece of advice given at that time by some who were then in the Sanctuary, that the daughters of King Edward should be sent abroad in disguise—*Ut siquid dictis Masculis humanitus in Turre contigerit, nihilominus, per salvandas personas filiarum, Regnum ad veros rediret hæredes*, p. 567. Mr. Walpole supposes this advice to have been given after Richard's coronation at York, referring the beginning of the next sentence, *interim et dum hæc agerentur*, to that, which was only the last of many events mentioned in the preceding paragraph, wherein he describes the several previous steps taken by Richard III, to usurp the throne; nor does that author mention the report concerning the Princes death, till some sentences afterwards.



by the relation of Perkin Warbeck; and whether that strange tale did not gain more converts, and receive more credibility, from the natural jealousy and the affected mysterious secrecy of Henry VII [g], than from the weight of its own evidence. I shall therefore proceed to a fact universally acknowledged to be true, though the evidence for it is not certain—that both the Princes were alive at the time of Richard's first coronation; his jealousy and vengeance must have been hasty indeed, had he not spared their lives for nine days only, the period between his assuming the throne, and his coronation.

THE author of *Historic Doubts* supposes that Richard had no such evil intention against his nephews on his accession to the crown, and that, instead of putting them to death, he meant to do honour to the eldest, by assigning him a respectable place, and robes of Dignity, at the ceremony of his coronation, so remarkable for its splendor and magnificence. This fact is inferred from a Record supposed to be the Coronation Roll of that King, now preserved in the office of the Great Wardrobe [b]; wherein many magnificent and royal robes are said to have been delivered for *the Lord Edward, Sonne of King Edward the IVth*; which that ingenious author supposes would not have been issued for any other purpose but for his appearance at that solemnity: but if his surprise was great at the sight of such an entry, how much greater must be that of his readers at the conclusion he has drawn from it! The justice due to history, and to the characters of princes, entitle the public to a

[g] Lord Bacon says, "All this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the children of Edward IV was living; which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation; neither was the King's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrariwise he had a fashion rather to create doubts, than assurance." *Life of Henry VII*, in Kennett's Collection, vol. I. p. 583.

[b] From which I have had the opportunity of extracting the following account, by the favour of Mr. Chamberlain, the Keeper of that Record, whose civility on this occasion deserves a particular acknowledgment.

true

true state of that fact, an explanation of which cannot be unacceptable to one, who has taken so much pains to instruct, as well as to amuse his readers.

THE Record to which he refers is not a Coronation Roll, but a Wardrobe account, of which the deliveries for the coronation make a considerable part. It will be necessary to quote several passages of this Record, in order to explain the nature of it, and to judge of the evidence it contains. It bears the following title;

“Particule computi Petri Courteys custodis magne garderobe D’ni n’ri Regis, nunc D’ni Ric’di Regis Anglie tercii, tam de omnibus et singulis denar’ summis p’r ipsum receptis et habitis, ac de omnibus et singulis emptionibus et provisionibus stuffur’ quam de omnibus et omnimodis solutionibus, expencis et liberationibus stuffurarum, ac denariorum summis, p’r ipsum similiter factis et habitis in officio predicto; videlicet a nono die Aprilis, Ann’ D’ni 1483, usq; festum purificationis beate Marie verginis proxime sequent’; scil’ p’r 298 dies, facientes 3 quarter et 25 dies.”

THE indenture prefixed to this account bearing date “June 27th, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde Kynge Richard the III<sup>d</sup>, witnesseth, that Piers Courteys the King’s Wardrober hathe taken upon him to purvey by the 3<sup>d</sup> day of Juyell next coming, the parcells ensying agaynst the coronation of our Sovereign Lorde”—All which articles it would have been impossible for him to have provided in so short a time, had not the greatest part of these preparations been already made for the coronation of Edward V.

THE substance of the book (for it is not in the form of a roll) contains all the receipts and issues of the Wardrobe during the period above-mentioned, beginning with an account “of the ferme and rents of all the mansions tenements and shoppes belonging unto the same grete wardrobe,” which then amounted to the annual sum 10*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* [i].

[i] Page 7, b.



THIS account is followed by a detail of the parcels of drapery and woollen clothe [k]; peltry [l] and skinnery; mercery [m]; of divers thynges [n] boght within the time of this account [o]; the parcels [p] of the office of the stable and cellery, in which are mentioned, *a sadel coverd with blac velvet made of stel, and nine hors barneys coverd with blue velvet*, which appear in the subsequent pages to have been part of King Edward's furniture. Then follow [q] "the expences necessarie made and done within the time of this acct," containing, the wages of sempstresses, taylors, and other handicrafts men, working in the said Wardrobe about making robes and garments. In some of these articles we may observe the fondness which Richard had for the *Boar*, his crest. One of them contains [r] a charge "*for 8000 bores made and wrought upon fustain, at 20 s. per thousand* [s]." Another article shews what dispatch was required in these preparations.

[k] Page 10, a.

[l] Page 13, a.

[m] Page 18, b.

[n] Page 33, b.

[o] In the mercery account, the scarlet cloth is charged from 8 s. to 16 s. and 8 d. per yard; the cloth engrayne from 10 s. to 13 s.; cloth of divers colours from 2 s. and 2 d. to 6 s. the yard; and the Ray cloth, used in covering the floor for the procession, of which there were 5488 staves, from 2 d. to 3 d. per staffe.

In the peltry account, the ermine cost from 20 s. to 40 s. each tymbre; the tymbre contained 40 skins. The backs at 21 or 22 d. the members or bellies of ermine at 6 s. and 8 d. There were several other kinds of furr, and 68,701 powderings made of bogy shanks, at 20 s. per thousand. Amongst the mercery articles, the velvet cost from 9 s. and 4 d. to 26 s. the yard. Cloths of gold, from 33 s. to 4 l. the yard. Silk damask at 8 s. per yard. Satyn of silk from 8 s. to 13 s. per yard. Hofen 4 s. the pair. Shoes of Spanish leather double soled and flocs, 8 d. per pair. Shoes of black leather, and flocs of the same kind, 6 d. Long spurs, parcel gilt, 13 s. 4 d. Short spurs, 6 s. Black spurs, 16 d.

[p] Page 40, a.

[q] Page 54, a.

[r] Page 23, b.

[s] And 5000 more are mentioned in the general accounts, pag. 31. b.

" Y E V E N

“ YEVEN unto divers skidders by way of reward for theyre  
 “ good and hasty expedition of thyre worke, 11*s.* and 8*d.* [*t*].”  
 The account specifies likewise reparations done to the office [*u*].  
 The pensions, fees, and rewards, paid by them [*x*]. Stuff [*y*] re-  
 mayning at the end of the last account after the burying of Ed-  
 ward IV [*z*]*—*the foraigne account of stuff [*a*],*—*and the total  
 receipt of stuff [*b*].

THEN follow the severall issues made by the Wardrobe on the  
 King’s account, under this title [*c*]:

“ THE deliverie of stuff delivered to for and ayeanst the grete  
 “ solemnnitee of the moost noble coronations, as well of oure So-  
 “ verayne Lord King Richard the Thirde, as of oure Soverayne  
 “ Lady’s the Queene, as hereafter severally is noted and specyfyed  
 “ in two divers places.”

THIS double entry contains, first, a particular account of the  
 severall robes, garments, with their linings, &c. describing the  
 substance, colour, and quantity of each, which are entered in one  
 column; and in another, opposite to it, are specified the total  
 quantities of every kind of materials employed in those articles.

The particulars begin thus:

“ To our said Soverayne Lord the Kyng for his apparail, the  
 “ vigil afore the day of his moost noble Coronation, for to ride in  
 “ from his Toure of London, unto his Palays of Westminster; a

[*t*] Page 58, a.

[*u*] Page 61, b.

[*x*] Page 62, a.

[*y*] It appears that a yearly pension of 40*s.* was paid by the Wardrobe  
 Office to the parson of Saint Andrew’s, at Baynard Castle, “ as by reason of  
 “ the old Graunte of King Edward the Thirde it hath been accustomed,”  
 that is to witt, by 296 days, after the rate of 1*d.* 7. by the day.—Piers Courteys’s  
 salary, as keeper of the Wardrobe, was 20*l.* per ann.

[*z*] Page 66, a.

[*a*] Page 67, a.

[*b*] Page 69, a.

[*c*] Page 79, a.



“ doublet made of two yerds and a quarter and a half of blue clothe  
 “ of gold, wrought with netts and pyne-apples, with a stomacher  
 “ of the same lined with oon ell of Holland cloth, and oon ell of  
 “ bulk, instede of green cloth of gold,—and a longe gown for to  
 “ ryde in, made of eight yerds of p<sup>r</sup>pul velvet, furred with eight  
 “ tymbres and half and 13 bakks of ermyn, and 4 tymbres, 17  
 “ wombes of ermyns, powdered with 3300 of powderings made  
 “ of boggy shanks, and a payre of short spurs all gilt.”

After this account is the following entry [d]:

“ Delivered unto Thomas Tyrrell, *occupying the office of*  
*maister of the King's horse*; for to cover with a sadell and harneys  
 “ for the King's own person, a sadelle and a harneys for his sword  
 “ berer, and a hakeney sadelle and harneys thereto, all three  
 “ saddels and harneys covered in 13 yerds of crymsyn cloth of  
 “ gold wrought with nets of roses, agens the time that the King  
 “ should take possession of his courts at Westminster;—and to  
 “ cover with a sadel, and a sadell of astate, all covered in three  
 “ yerds and 3-4ths of rede clothe of golde, wrought with nets  
 “ ayens the coronation: and to cover with seven courfers sadelles,  
 “ 15 yerds and a quarter and half of cryslyn velvet, &c.  
 “ To our said soverayne Lord the King, for to have the same  
 “ vigile afore the day of his most noble coronation, for his seven  
 “ Henxemen, the saide seven saddeles covered in crymsyn velvet,  
 “ &c.” [e]

“ ALSO for their apparell; seven doublets made of 15 yards  
 “ and 3-4ths of crymsyn satyn lined, &c.—Seven gownes made of  
 “ seven half gownes of white clothe of gold [f].” May it not be  
 inferred that the half gowns here said to be converted by Richard  
 into long gowns, were originally designed for Edward's corona-  
 tion, especially as is this the sole article wanting in this account to  
 make the apparell of Edward's Henxemen correspondent with that  
 of Richard's.

[d] Page 80, b.

[e] Page 81, b.

[f] Page 82, b.



THE next pages specify the several royal robes, garments, &c. which were to be used in the ceremony of the King's coronation.

THE delivery of robes on the morn after that solemnity was as follows [b] :

“ To our said souverain Lorde the Kyng, for to have unto his  
“ moost honourable use the morne after his mooste noble coronation.

“ A LONGE gown made of 8 yerds and 1-4th of crymsyn cloth  
“ of gold, wrought with droops, lyned with 7 yerds and a half  
“ of grene damask:—a long gown maade of 8 yerds, and 3-4ths  
“ and a half of crymsyn cloth of gold chekked, lyned with 8  
“ yerds 3-4ths and 3 nailles of grene fatyn:—a long gown made  
“ of 8 yerds and a half and half a quarter of p'pul fatyn, lyned  
“ with 8 yerds and a half of white cloth of gold:—a shorte gowne  
“ made of 3 yerds and a quarter of p'pul velvet lyned with 3 yerds  
“ and 3-4ths of plunket clothe of gold [i]:—a plakert maade of half  
“ a yerd and half a quarter of blac velvet lyned with half a yerd  
“ and half a quarter of white damask:—a doublett made of 2 yerds  
“ and half a quarter of grene fatyn, lyned with oon elle of holland  
“ cloth:—a long gown maade of 8 yerds and half of p'pul velvet  
“ lyned with 8 yerds and half of p'pul fatyn:—a long gown of p'pul  
“ cloth of gold wrought with gartiers and rooses, of the gift of our  
“ Souverain Lady the Quene, lyned with 8 yerds of white damask.

“ To seven of oure sayde Souverain Lorde the Kyng's Henge-  
“ men [k]; that is to wit: The lord Morley, Thomas Dacre, John  
“ Beaumont, John Barkley, Edward Welles, Thomas Paton, and  
“ John Croft, for theire apparail ayenst the day of the grete so-  
“ lemnitee of the most noble coronation of our faide Soveraine  
“ Lorde the King :

[b] Page 89, b.

[i] Page 90, a.

[k] An old English name for a Page, or rather an Equerry, derived from the Saxon word *hengest*, which signifies a horse.



“ SEVEN doublets maade of 15 yerds and 3-4ths of grene fatyn,  
 “ 7 long gowns maade of 41 yerds and a half of crymsyn velvet,  
 “ lyned with 26 yerds and a half of white farfnet, 8 black bon-  
 “ nets, 8 pair of hosen, &c. And to everiche of theyme, and also  
 “ their maister, 2 paire of shoon, 2 paire of flos, 8 pair of  
 “ botews of Spaynysh leder among theyme.”

PAGE 92, contains an account of stuffe delivered for the grete solemnitee of the most noble coronation of our Soverain Lady the Quene, the vigil before the same and after. Her Majesty was conveyed in great pomp that evening from the Tower of London to Westminster, in a litter richly adorned, born by two courfers, and attended by seven ladies on horseback, and five Hengemen, who rode in womens saddles covered with crimson cloth of gold, as appears by the following entry :

“ To five Hengemen of oure saide Soveraine Lady the Quene,  
 “ rydyng in the saide five women’s saddelles covered with crymsyn  
 “ cloth of gold,—after the Quene rydyng in her litter the vigile  
 “ afore the day of her mooste noble coronation, from the Towre of  
 “ London unto the Palays of Westminster, for their apparel and  
 “ array; five doublets maade of 8 yerds and 1-4th of crymsyn  
 “ fatyn,—five short gownes maade of 18 yerds and 3-4ths of  
 “ blue velvet, &c.”

AGAINST the day of the coronation, the said Hengemen had five doublets made of 10 yerds and 3-4ths of grene fatyn—five long gownes maade of 28 yerds quarter and half of crymsyn velvet lyned with 23 yerds of white farfnet [1].

THE article relating to Lady Brigitt is added to the foregoing ones [m] :

“ To the Lady Brygitt, oon of the daughters of Kyng Edward  
 “ the IVth, beyng seeke, in the saide Wardrobe for to have for  
 “ here use, two long pillowes of fustian stuffed with downe, and  
 “ two pilloweberes of holland clothe unto theyme.”

[1] Page 79, b.

[m] Page 98, a.



FROM which entry I infer, not that the Princess was sick in the Wardrobe, but (according to the stile of that Record) that being sick, she was to have those pillows *in* or *from* the said Wardrobe. This entry is a further proof that the Wardrobe Record did not relate solely to the coronation.

The next page [n] gives an account “of the liveries of clothing and lynyngs delivered ayenst the coronation, as well unto the lords spiritual and temporal, as to other divers persons hereafter named and specified.” These liveries were either of scarlet or red cloth, and contained more or fewer yards according to the dignity of the several personages. The Archbishop of Canterbury had 18 yards of scarlet lined with green damask; the Bishops of Durham and Bath 16 yards each; those of London, Exeter, St. Asse, and the Lord Privy Seal, 12 yards; the Lord Treasurer of England and the Master of the Great Wardrobe, 10 yards each; the Chief Justices, the Judges of the King’s Courts, and three Serjeants at Law, had 7 yards each; the King’s Attorney, 5 yards; the Treasurer of the Household and Secretary to the King, 6 yards; the Comptroller of the House, 4 yards; the Queen’s Carver, 7 yards; divers other officers, 3 yards, and the inferior ones 3 yards each of red cloth. The Offices of Treasurer and Comptroller seem to have been then vacant.

At Page 103, we have “the delivery of scarlet unto divers astates of Ladyes, and unto divers Gentilwomen, for the Coronation of the Queen — these were the Duchesse of Suffolk; three Duchesses of Norfolk; the Countesses of Richmond, Surrey, and Nottingham; the Ladies Lovell, Fitzburgh the elder and the younger; Scrope of Masham and Mountjoy; five Dames of honour and four Gentlewomen, all of whom probably belonged to her Majesty’s household, or had some particular office assigned to them at the Coronation. The Duchesses had 14 yards of scarlet, the Countesses 10, the Ladies 8, and the Dames and

[n] Page 99, b.



"Gentlewomen 7 yards each. The Treasurer of England, and  
 "Master of the Wardrobe, had also 10 yards each on this ac-  
 "count."

THEN follows [o] "the deliverie of divers clothes of gold and  
 "of filke, delivered unto divers astates of Ladies and Gentilwo-  
 "men of divers degrees of the Kyng's especyal gift, by his high  
 "commandement, by the advis of his moost honourable counsaile,  
 "ayenst the said mooste noble Coronation of oure faide Souveraine  
 "Lady the Quene." These are the same persons to whom scarlet  
 had been delivered in the preceding articles. The robes of the five  
 Duchesses and of the Countess of Richmond consisted of two gowns  
 made each of 6 yards of different coloured velvet, lined with the  
 same quantity of different coloured cloth of gold: the gowns of the  
 other Ladies and Dames were of velvet lined either with sattin or  
 damask; and they seem by the title to have been deliveries out of  
 the usual course, in order to increase the splendor and magnificence  
 of that ceremony; and of the like nature is the following article at  
 the end of these deliveries:

"To many divers persons, for to have in haste, by my Lorde of  
 "Bukkingham's commandement, whose names were not re-  
 "membered, delivered in grete [p]."

THEN follows an account of the garments for *Lord Edward and  
 his Hengemen*, specifying in one column the sort and quantity of  
 stuff contained in each; and in another the totals of the stuff, under  
 the following running title [q]: "Yit the deliverie of divers stuffe  
 "delivered for the use of Lorde Edward, son of late Kyng  
 "Edward IV. and his Hengemen."

"To Lorde Edward son of late Kyng Edward IV. for his ap-  
 "parill and array; that is to say, a shorte gowne made of two  
 "yerds and three quarters of crymysyn clothe of gold, lyned with

[o] Page 105, a.

[p] Page 109, a.

[q] Ibid.



“ two yerds three quarter of blac velvet;—a long gowne made of  
 “ fix yerds and a half of crymfyn clothe of gold, lyned with fix  
 “ yerds of grene damask;—a shorte gowne made of two yerds three  
 “ quarters of p’pull velvet, lyned with two yerds and a half of  
 “ grene damask;—a doublet and stomacher made of two yerds of  
 “ blac fatyn;—a ryding gowne made of two yerds three quarters  
 “ of blue velvet lyned with two yerds and three quarters of blac  
 “ fatyn;—a long gowne and a half gowne maade of ten yerds and a  
 “ half of blue velvett, lyned with ten yerds and a half of blac fatyn;  
 “ —a doublet maade of a yerd and three quarters of grene fatyn;  
 “ —a long gowne maade of fix yerds and a half of purpul velvett,  
 “ lyned with fix yerds and a half of ruffet fatyn;—a long gowne  
 “ maade of fix yerds and a half of blue velvet, lyned with fix yerds  
 “ and a half of black fatyn;—a doublet made of a yerde three  
 “ quarters of black fatyn; nine [r] hors harneys, and nine sadell  
 “ houses all made of 36 yerds of blue velvett, and two paire [s] of  
 “ hosen made of a yerde and a quarter of broode meighlyn blac;”

with severall other smaller articles which it is needles to insert.

“ To the Hengemen of the said Lord Edward, for their apparail  
 “ and array; seven gownes maade of 10 yerds and three quarters  
 “ of grene clothe of gold, and 11 yerds and a half of white cloth  
 “ of gold, and seven doublets maade of 15 yerds of blac damask;  
 “ eight gownes and eight hoods of black clothe, made of 20 yerds  
 “ and 3-4ths of blac cloth, &c.”

At Page 111, is “ the deliverie of divers clothes of gold and  
 “ silk, delivered by the Kyng’s high commandement, of his especial  
 “ gift, unto the astaters of lordes and worshipfull knights and  
 “ other divers persons, ayenst the said mooste noble coronation of  
 “ our saide soverayne Lady the Queene.” The persons to whom.

[r] Charged in the Parcels of the Stable, Page 41, b. Price of each, 10s.

[s] This Article is charged in the Parcels of Drapery bought, Page 11, b. and cost 13 s. and 4 d. the yard.

these.



these were given, were the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Scroope of Bolton, Lord of Audeley, Sir Thomas Saintleger, Sir Thomas Montgomery, Sir Thomas Borough, Sir Robert Dymock the King's Champion, Sir Edmond Hastryngs, Sir John Middleton, John Cheyney, William Catesby, and the Earl of Surrey; amongst these the Duke of Buckingham, who stands first, is thus particularly distinguished: "To the Duke of Bukkingham, by the King's  
 " high commandment, having chief rule and divising of the orde-  
 " naunce for oure saide Soverayne Lorde the King's mooste noble  
 " Coronation, for to have of his especyal gift, eight yerds of blue  
 " cloth of gold, wrought with droops, and eight yerds of blac  
 " velvet, and twelve yerds of velvet." The other personages, who probably had particular offices at the court, had seven yards either of velvet, fatyn, damask, or camlet; John Cheyne alone had cloth of filver. This paragraph seems to conclude the account of deliveries for the first Coronation.

THE next article, Page 114, contains, "Stuffe delivered after and  
 " between the moost noble Coronations of oure sayde Soverayne  
 " Lorde the King, and oure sayde Soverayne Lady the Queene,  
 " unto theyre moost noble uses, and unto the uses of other divers  
 " persons by the King's high commandment, and the feeft of the  
 " purificatyon of our Ladye Saynt Marye the Virgine." These are the common and necessary garments issued from the Wardrobe for the King's own use.

THEN follows an account of robes for the King when he was to hold his parliament [t]; amongst these is mentioned, "A saddel for  
 " the Prynce ayenst his creation [u];" and in the next page, the name of Sir James Tyrell first occurs as actually Master of the horse to the King:

[t] Page 116, a.

[u] Page 118, a.



“ To Sir James Tyrell Knight [x], Maister of the hors of oure  
 “ sayde Soverayne Lorde the Kyng, for to have unto his faide  
 “ office, to and for oure said Soverayne Lord the King’s use, re-  
 “ ceived by the hands of John Frisley, clerke of the office of the  
 “ stable of oure sayde Soverayne Lorde the King, the parcells of  
 “ stuffe noted and specified in the innere margyns here; to be  
 “ employed and expended unto the King’s mooste honourable use  
 “ att the tymes necessary and requisite:” which parcells he is said  
 in the following leaf to have for the King’s store.

THE following article, Page 121, shews that Sir James Tyrell  
 was Master of the King’s Hengemen at that time.

“ To seven Hengemen of oure said soverayne Lorde the Kynge,  
 “ and to Sir James Tyrell theyre Maister, for theyre apparail and  
 “ array ayenst the noble creation of my Lorde Prynce, at the  
 “ King’s Citee of Yorke, &c.” towitt, 36 ells of Holland cloth,  
 &c.

THE remaining part of this book contains [y] the total issue  
 and deliverie of all the stuff mentioned in the preceding pages, and  
 stuff remaining at the end of this account [z].

THIS circumstantial description of the Wardrobe Record is  
 not without its curiosity and usefulness, as it shews the nature of  
 that Record, and describes particularly the royal robes and gar-  
 ments; which, being compared with those allotted to the Lord  
 Edward, plainly point out both the time and the uses for which  
 these latter were issued.

I SHALL therefore present them under one view, in two oppo-  
 site columns:

[x] Page 119, a.

[y] Page 125, a.

[z] Page 133, a.



GARMENTS for King  
RICHARD.GARMENTS for Lord  
EDWARD.

For the Cavalcade from the  
Tower to Westminster, on  
the vigil of his coronation.

1. A long gown to ride  
in, of purple velvet lined with  
ermyn.

2. A doublet and stomacher  
of blue cloth of gold.

Robes on the morn after his  
Coronation.

3. Two long gowns of crim-  
son cloth of gold, one lined with  
green damask, the other with  
green satin.

4. A long gown of purple  
satin lined with white cloth of  
gold.

5. A long gown of purple  
velvet lined with purple satin.

6. A short gown of purple  
velvet lined with plunkett cloth  
of gold.

7. A long gown of purple  
cloth of gold, the gift of the  
Queen, lined with white damask.

8. A plackert of black velvet,  
and a doublet of green satin.

1. A riding gown of blue  
velvet lined with blue satin.

2. A doublet and stomacher  
of blue satin.

3. A long and a short gown  
of crimson cloth of gold, one  
lined with green damask, the  
other with black velvet.

4. A long gown of blue vel-  
vet lined with blue satin.

5. A long gown of purple  
velvet lined with russet satin.

6. A short gown of purple  
velvet lined with green damask.

7. A long gown, and a half  
gown of blue velvet lined with  
black satin.

8. Two doublets, one of black  
satin, the other of green satin.

Seven long gowns of white cloth of gold, made out of seven short gowns with additions.

No garments on the eve of the Coronation, because the seven short gowns which Richard made into long gowns were probably intended for that purpose.

THE morn after the Coronation.  
 Seven long gowns of crimson velvet, seven doublets of green fatten.

Seven gowns of white cloth of gold, and green cloth of gold [a].  
 Seven doublets of black damask, eight gowns and hoods of black cloth.

How nearly do the robes of these royal persons correspond with each other, both in number and materials! The only difference seems to be, that Richard had a long gown of purple cloth of gold (a present from his Queen), instead of which Edward had a long and a short gown of blue velvet.

To use the Apologist's words on this occasion: "Let no man tell me, that these robes, this magnificence, these trappings for a cavalcade, were for the use of a prisoner." They certainly were not; and therefore we must conclude that some were issued immediately on his accession, when it was necessary and usual for such deliveries to be made. Of this kind were the blue velvet gown made for him, and the eight gowns and hoods of black cloth, charged in this account for his Hengemen, which were undoubtedly the garments wherein they were dressed at the King's publick entry into London; for it is remarked by Fabian, "that the King was

[a] Charged among the Mercery parcells, page 20, b. and is the only article of that colour in the account.



“ in blewe velvet, and all his Lords and servants in blacke cloth [b].” Some of them were also intended for his Coronation, as we may infer from the similarity of them to those worn by Richard on that solemnity. These robes must have been already prepared for Edward, as his uncle did not assume the Regal power till five days after the time appointed for his nephew’s Coronation. The apparel of Edward’s Hengemen, which consisted of green and white cloth of gold, was rather more magnificent than Richard’s, which was only of crimson velvet. The number of their Hengemen were equal. The Queen had only five who attended her in that ceremony [c].

WHAT conclusions then are we to draw from this Record? Had Richard been cruel enough to have exacted so mortifying a sacrifice from his deposed, bastardised, and imprisoned nephew, as to have dressed him in the mock pageants of Royalty, and insisted on his walking as a captive to grace the insolence of his triumph; yet surely he could not have been so destitute of political wisdom (in which even his enemies acknowledge him to have excelled), as to have exhibited before a numerous crowd of discontented spectators, an object so likely to excite their compassion in favour of the young Prince, and to kindle their resentment against the barbarous author of such unmerited indignity.

BUT why did not the Duke of York grace the procession likewise; for there were no robes provided for him? Was he escaped out of the Tower? That cannot be supposed; for the tale of Perkin Warbeck (and we have no other account of his escape) connects that event with the death of his elder brother, whom the Apologist, nevertheless, supposes to be still living. But if the Robes

[b] Fabian’s Chron. p. 513, b.

[c] Many of these articles, which relate to Lord Edward and his Hengemen, are charged in the Wardrober’s general account of receipts and deliveries, undistinguished from those which were issued for Richard’s Coronation.

provided

provided for Edward were Royal Robes, the difficulty is removed; and the silence of the Wardrobe Record with regard to his brother may be properly accounted for, by his not being ordinarily entitled to issues from that office; all the entries in that account (except those which related to the Coronation) being specified to be only “for the King’s or Queen’s moost honourable use.”

BUT in what place or order could Edward have appeared at this ceremony? His robes and attendants were royal; and yet he had at that time, neither rank nor precedence, being declared an illegitimate son of the late King.

THE deliveries made on his account, although prior to those issued for the Coronation, yet (considering the circumstances of that time) could not stand in any other place. The Master of the Wardrobe’s account was engrossed and closed in the beginning of the following year, when the Act of Bastardy had passed. In what order then, or under what name or title, could these liveries be charged? They could not precede the articles for Richard’s Coronation, for then they must have been charged as robes *for the King*. Piers Courteys, no doubt, understood the duty of his office too well, to make so uncourtly an entry; and it would have been a dangerous experiment, at that critical period, to have excited the jealousy or resentment of his Master.

IT was not for Richard’s interest, nor agreeable to his inclinations, that the time or the uses for which these garments were issued, should be particularly specified. They are placed therefore after the articles relative to the Coronation, amongst those issued *by the King’s high commandment*, which in some respects was literally true. It is needless to observe that, when this account was closed, no other title but that of *Lord Edward* could be given to this Prince.



THERE is another fact relative to this history, wherein the evidence of the Wardrobe Account is material.

MR. WALPOLE apprehends that Sir James Tyrell is mentioned therein as Master of the Horse at King Richard's Coronation; a circumstance which, in his opinion, discredits Sir Thomas More's account of that murder; it being improbable that a person already preferred to so honourable an office near the person of the King would have submitted to the ignominy of so foul a deed.

BUT the Record itself tells a very different story, which tends rather to establish than to invalidate the Historian's account; for it was *Thomas Tyrell*, and not *Sir James*, who occupied the office of Master of the Horse to the King at that ceremony; and from this particular manner of expressing his tenure it may be inferred, that he held this office either as a deputy, or as a temporary substitute. It might have been vacant in the King's hand, as those of Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household were at that time.—Whether this was the case, or whether he held the office in his own right; the superseding him in favour of his elder brother implies some particular merit in the latter, which entitled him to such a distinguishing mark of royal favour.—It was not till after Richard's first Coronation, and just before the creation of his eldest son Prince of Wales, that Sir James appears to have been possessed of that office; for the paragraph which recites the delivery of the stable furniture to him by the hands of John Friesley, Clerk of the stables (which furniture is there called the King's store), implies his having *then* first taken possession of his office. Does not this promotion therefore coincide exactly in point of time with Sir Thomas Moor's account of the murder; and is not that account corroborated by the many favours and beneficial grants made to him at and soon after this period[d]? Did not the two brothers successively

[d] He had the office of Steward of the Lordships of Lanemtherry, Lanthefant, Newport Wenloke, and Kevoeth Meredith in Wales, and the Marches, for the  
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|--|---|---|--|
| Sir John Tyrell, of Heron in Essex, Treasurer of the Household to K. Henry VI.   |   | Eleanor, daughter and coheir of William de Coggeshall, Essex.   |  |
| 1. Sir Thomas Tyrell, Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, 1460, died March 28th, 16 Edw. IV. leaving his grandson, Sir Thomas, son of William Tyrell, Knight, his heir, then twenty-three years of age and upwards. Esceat. an. 16 Edw. IV. n. 71. | Emma, daughter of William Marney, of Lower Marney, Essex. | 2. William Tyrell of Gipping in Suffolk, Sheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, 24 Henry VI.   | Margaret, daughter of Robert Darcy of Malden.  |
| 1. Sir William Tyrell died in his father's lifetime.   | Eleanor, daughter of Robert Darcy.                        | 2. Thomas of South-Okington.  | 3. Edward.   |
| 1. Sir Thomas Tyrell, Knight Banneret, born 1454 as above, Sheriff of Essex 1482.  | Betrever, daughter to John Cocking of Derbyshire.         | 3. Humphrey of Warley.  | 4. John.   |
| 1. Sir Thomas Tyrell of Heron.   | Constance, daughter to John Blount, Lord Mountjoy.        | 4. Sir Robert Tyrell.   | 5. John.   |
| John Tyrell, only son, died without issue male.  | Anne, daughter to William Browne.                         | 1. Sir James Tyrell, Knight, Master of the Horse to Richard III. after his first coronation; beheaded for treason May 6th, 17 Hen. VII. | 2. Thomas Tyrell occupying the office of Master of the Horse to Ric. III. at his coronation. |
| Sir Thomas Tyrell of Gipping, who had a special pardon from Hen. VII. April 13th, 19 regni; and on the 19th April, 22 regni, a restitution in blood, and to all his estates.   |   | Margaret, daughter to Christopher, Lord Willoughby.   |  |
| Sir John Tyrell, only son and heir.  |   | Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Munday.   |  |

This account of the Tyrell family for five descents, which is copied from Vincent's accurate Pedigree in the Heralds office, and verified by other Records, not only proves, agreeably to the account of Sir Thomas More and the historians of that time, that Thomas Tyrell was brother of Sir James, but also that there was then no other Thomas Tyrell under the degree of a Knight answering to the description in the Wardrobe Record, except it were Thomas Tyrell of Okington, the younger brother of Sir William, whose connections with the court, or promotion in it, are unsupported by any authority, and even destitute of probability.





execute the same office? and was it not the duty of a Master of the King's Hengemen (or Pages) to be in attendance on the King, and probably to sleep in his anti-chamber, whilst the Pages themselves were employed in menial offices nearer the royal person? Though Sir James Tyrell was neither Master of the Horse nor one of the King's Hengemen at the Coronation, yet being a follower of the court (as Sir Thomas More describes him), and perhaps employed in some office there; or even as brother to the King's Master of the Horse, it is in no respect improbable that he should be seen in the King's Anti-chamber, where Richard first proposed to him the murder of his nephews.

THIS Sir James Tyrell, of Gipping in Suffolk, [e] was descended from a younger branch of the Tyrells in Essex; his father, William Tyrell of Gipping, being the second son of Sir John Tyrell of Heron, in Essex, who was Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VI. Thomas Tyrell mentioned in the Record, was younger brother to Sir James, and is called a Knight both by Sir Thomas Moor and the family pedigree, though he did not bear that title at the King's Coronation. The son and heir of Sir James was Sir Thomas, to whom King Henry VII. granted an especial pardon, by the name of Thomas Tyrell, of London, Gentleman, on the 6th day [f] of April, in the 19th year of his

term of his life. Pat. 2 Ric. III, p. 1. dated August 9th. He had also the ward and marriage of Robert Arundel Treryse, son and heir of John Arundel Treryse, Esq; &c. during his minority. He had the rule of the Castle of Guisnes, and in the absence of Lord Mountjoy was Lieutenant there, and made Governor of Glamorganshire, though he was sent to Guisnes, Anno 2 Ric. III. The King also sent him to Flanders for divers matters, and put him in trust in Wales against the Duke of Buckingham; he was also a Commissioner for the forfeited estates of that Duke and other traitors in Wales and the Marches. See Kennett's notes on Buck's History, vol. I. p. 552; where the grants made to the other accomplices in that murder are also mentioned. King Henry VII. made him Sheriff of Glamorgan, Feb. 19, anno primo regni. Esceat Roll, p. 4.

[e] See his Pedigree in the annexed sheet.

[f] Pat. 19 Henry VII. p. 1. m. 5.

reign;



reign; and on the 19th of April [g] in the 22d year of his reign, gave him restitution of all his estates which had been forfeited by his father's attainder, who was executed for treason on Tower Hill on the 6th day of May, in the 17th year of that King's reign. Sir Thomas More's account of the two brothers corresponds with this pedigree; but the report (which he gives only from hearsay) that Sir James was knighted for that infamous service, is certainly ill-founded; for he bore that title in a patent of the preceding year, wherein he is appointed with several other persons to execute the office of Constable of England [h]. In fact he is mentioned amongst those who were made Bannerets in Scotland by the Duke of Gloucester, on St. James's eve that year [i]. He is also placed by Hollinshed as the first of the Knights who attended at Richard's Coronation.

THESE accounts of his family seem to correspond with the situation and character in which Sir Thomas More represents him; who says, "that he was a brave handsome man, who deserved a better master, and would have merited the esteem of all men, had his virtue been as great as his valour [k]." He adds that "he was ambitious also;" and surely it was no small degree of that passion which could excite him to a rivalry of the King's principal favourites; "for he saw with regret, Sir Richard Ratcliff soar above him in his master's favour [l]." If this character of him is just, can we wonder that he should have been recommended to Richard for an enterprize of this nature, or that he should so willingly have accepted the commission?

[g] Pat. 22 Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 4.

[h] Rhymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 169.

[i] Harl. MSS. 293, N<sup>o</sup>. 95.

[k] Kennett's Collections, vol. I. p. 501.

[l] Hall says, "The man had a high harte, and sore longed upward, not rising so fast as he hoped, beying hindred and kept under by Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby, which longyng for no more parteners of the Princes favour, nameli not for him, whose pride thei knew would bear no pere, kept him, by secret drifts, out of all secret trust." First year of Richard III. fol. 111.

UPON the whole, the evidence arising from the Record in respect to King Edward V. is so far from proving that the young Prince either actually did, or was intended to walk at his Uncle's Coronation, that we cannot infer from it, whether he were then living or dead; and as far as Sir James Tyrell's, or his brother Thomas's name occurs in this Record, they serve to add probability to the received account of the Prince's murder: Sir James being made to supersede his brother as Master of the Horse at the precise point of time assigned by the Historians for this murder, and immediately before the creation of Richard's son, Prince of Wales; an event to which the lives of the two Princes seemed to be the only obstacle. Impartial judgements will therefore connect these two circumstances as dependent on each other; inferring from the creation of the Prince of Wales, that the lawful heir of the crown was no longer living; as they will from the particular time of Sir James's promotion, and the liberal grants made to him soon after, that he is not unjustly charged with the perpetration of that act, from which the Apologists for Richard have not been able to clear him.





*An Inscription on a white Marble found in the Isle of Tasso near the Coast of Romania by Cap.<sup>t</sup> Josiah Hales 1728.*

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A Scale of one Foot.





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